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FAMILY MIGRATORINESS AND CHILD BEHAVIOR

Based upon a Study of a Group of California Schools

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THE PROBLEM

THE CONTRAST between the modern continual movement of mankind from place to place and its local fixity or permanence in preceding ages is a striking one. Our institutions with their accompanying attitudes of approval or disapproval have their origin in the geographically more settled and stable way of life. Our social patterns are, in a way, rooted in the soil and reflect this "normal" background of definite localization of life.

But continuous migration characterizes life today, giving us the picture of a multitude of moving people throughout the world and in our own land. As the conductor of a train said recently when he discovered among his passengers a stray cat, "Everybody travels nowadays." We have the tramps upon the road, with the recent large addition of wandering men and boys set loose by the depression. There are automobile families journeying from place to place in search of work. There are types of people who must move frequently because their employment is in shifting occupations such as fruit picking or harvesting, highway construction and other engineering enterprises, and a multitude of other types of work. Indeed, it hardly need be stated that there are few occupations in our modern way of living which do not entail some degree of

movement from place to place. The stationary life of agricultural economy has definitely given way to the mobile industrial system.

Does this migratory nature of modern life tend to change attitudes, habits, values? Does the migratory environment build behavior patterns in growing minds differing from the patterns evolved in fixed and more stable life situations? Families living a fixed and settled life seem to reflect the local community patterns of life. Does the mobile or migratory family—changing from place to place, making new associations again and again—express this migratory existence in its behavior patterns and approvals? Is migratoriness itself a factor of importance in regard to mental characteristics functioning in behavior? This is the problem which is examined in this study. Very many studies, approaching the situation in different ways, will be needed to give a complete answer. Each approach, however, may be a help toward its understanding. The investigation which is here described in abbreviated form has in a small way tried to get at this problem. The completed research is too long for journal publication.

For the most part the research which is here described is made up of case studies of school children in families which have moved frequently from place to place. Inevitably, children, more readily than adults, reveal the process of habit and attitude formation. An attempt has been made to find out something about the family background in each instance, as well as to gather the school records which included health statistics, behavior records, and mental and scholastic achievements. By these and other means it has been hoped to throw some light upon the question of the influence of migratory or unsettled life upon the minds of those involved.

Though the public school has been used by the authors as the primary source of information, additional data

were gathered from city charities, employers of seasonal labor, published studies of special labor groups, and personal interviews with adult members of many families that have moved many times for whatever reasons. Information about moving or unsettled families was mainly, however, obtained from a group of schools through the kindly co-operation of principals, teachers, and school nurses, as well as by direct interviews with many of the children.

To find these migratory families, pupils who had registered during the current semester in each school were looked up and their previous record scanned by the school staff or a research assistant. If it was found that the family had moved frequently (at least four times) within a recent date, and its past seemed to indicate lack of definite rooting in a single locality, the family was included in our list to be studied. The families were then classified as to the type of moves they had made which would indicate whether they were only locally transient or migratory; whether temporarily migratory or more completely and permanently migratory; whether seasonal transients; or in other categories. The term transient is used in the study from time to time as equivalent to migratory or moving; a "transient" family is thus simply an unsettled or moving versus a stationary family. The term as thus used is not intended to convey any implication of social or economic status as it is often used. While it is true that a great number of moving families is to be found at the poverty level, yet there are many in other classes whose occupations necessitate more or less continual movement from place to place; salesmen, army officers, engineers illustrate this fact, as do also teachers, preachers, railroad men, and types of criminals.

The schools from which information was gathered were located in California. They were the Burbank Junior High

School, Franklin Elementary, Lincoln Elementary, and Longfellow Elementary schools in Berkeley; the Bret Harte, Claremont, and Lockwood Junior High schools in Oakland; the schools of Emeryville; Haight and Longfellow schools of Alameda; the Kettleman City school in Kings County. Statistics and information concerning California "migratory schools" (maintained by the state for the children of migratory rural seasonal working families) were obtained from the State Department of Education and also from the Fresno County Superintendent of Schools.

Somewhat over one hundred families were carefully studied. In several cases it was impossible to obtain complete records on all points, which accounts for the slight variations in numbers on the different charts and tables.

Moving families may be classified with reference to the variety of reasons which underlie their instability. Some of the reasons have to do with the unsatisfactory character of their previous location, while others express the attractive aspects of a new location.¹ In contrast to these grounds for movement there are factors or influences which keep families anchored to a locality. Often the two kinds of influences overlap or are similar, as for example, family connections or business interests may deter movement or may become the essential ground for movement. They may be either an uprooting influence or a community-binding influence.

* Inevitably economic influences are most important causes of mobility; but in addition are such factors as poor health, broken home conditions, criminality, education. The writers discovered and listed as mobility-causative characteristics in the records of the families studied the following list. The list is given here without further explanation; unavoidably there is a certain amount of overlapping in the history of nearly every family.

¹ See C. V. Kiser, *Sea Island to City*, p. 115.

Agriculturally dispossessed families
 Industrially discharged families
 Families that have lost business positions
 Casual or seasonal worker families
 Other unskilled laborers' families
 Employment in occupations which call for frequent
 moves
 Widows with dependents
 Artificially broken families
 Criminal families
 Health seekers
 Generally dissatisfied families

The case histories from which this list is compiled are frequently very illuminating as well as full of interest, but lack of space forbids their inclusion in this article. A single record is given, however, to show the nature of the recorded cases.

Roger was born in Connecticut. His father is an iron worker (riveter), who goes from place to place to work. When a job is finished the family moves to another place where steel building is going on. They had been as far west as Texas, returning from there to Connecticut, but stopping to work along the way. Roger has attended so many schools that he can't remember them all, but names the following states where he is sure he went to school: New Jersey, West Virginia, Texas, Florida, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana. He attended school in New Orleans three different times as the father worked there several times. When the father gets a job in any town the family rents a furnished place, remaining till the work is finished.

The following table gives the regular occupation in 100 families studied:

TABLE I
OCCUPATIONS OF 100 MOBILE FAMILIES

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Number</i>
Laborer	13	Salesman	5
Mechanic	11	Carpenter	4
Cannery worker	6	Laundry employee or	
Clerk	5	operator	4
Painter	5	Oil field employee	4

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Number</i>
Railroad employee	4	Druggist	1
Preacher	3	Dye caster	1
Cook	2	Editor	1
Oil company (office) employee	2	Electric company employee..	1
Peddler	2	Fruit picker	1
Printer	2	Golf course manager	1
Storekeeper	2	Iron worker	1
Apartment house manager...	1	Janitor	1
Bait-ship assistant	1	Machinery installer	1
Barber	1	Miner	1
Beauty specialist	1	Mining engineer	1
Boat builder	1	Piano tuner	1
Bridge worker	1	Power shovel operator	1
Chemist	1	Nurse	1
Collection agent	1	Watchman	1
Deep-sea diver	1	Not given	2

One is apt to associate transient or unsettled families with overloaded Model T Ford cars such as the now well-known "O'Malley" family. It is true that automobile transients are often of this type, but one must not conclude that all migrant families are of this sort—dependent often upon charities from place to place. Probably the majority of mobile families are economically average folk, paying their own bills, and traveling by train or boat as well as automobiles. But all, no matter what their economic status, have one trait in common—they are not definitely a part of any fixed or stable community; they do not have a permanent home and a local status.

In examining the histories of these moving families of our study it quickly became evident that they differ in both the frequency of movements made and in the distances traveled. Some circulate for a period and then settle down, while others continue moving without end. Some move but short distances, although the moves may be so frequent that the children hardly have time to register in schools; while others move long distances. For purposes of study the families were classified (with evident over-

lapping) as follows: 1. Local moving families consisting of families which move from house to house within a city or single locality, the reasons for moving being various. 2. Temporarily moving families, a class particularly illustrated by depression conditions; they are usually in search of employment; in time they may easily become permanently transient. 3. Seasonal transients who follow the crops, some having no fixed abiding place, while others think of some locality as "home" and return to it for periods of waiting between crops. 4. Permanently transient or mobile families, never remaining established in any one spot. They may be rovers of the odd-job type or those whose occupations forbid any settled life.

The following tables give distribution according to this classification of 89 families studied in the schools of Berkeley, Emeryville, and Oakland. The tables also indicate the number which has crossed state lines in their moving and also those whose movements have been confined to California.

"Migratory schools" are maintained by the state in order to meet the educational needs and situation of seasonal workers. The director of attendance for the Fresno County schools made an inquiry in the winter of 1933-34 to find out what proportion of children attending these schools had a permanent or definite residence. Out of 284 families, 98 (34.51 per cent) stated that they had no permanent residence of any sort; 186 claimed permanent residences, though the fact that many of these were simply labor camps indicates how unstable these "residences" might be. These were all seasonal labor families.

In 1927, "there were in the State of California according to the school census 36,891 children who declared that they were migratory and definitely stated that they and their parents had no permanent place of residence."²

² Lillian B. Hill, *Study of Migratory Schools in California*, California Department of Education, May 1, 1930.

TABLE II

CLASSIFICATION OF 89 TRANSIENT FAMILIES IN OAKLAND, EMERYVILLE, AND BERKELEY SCHOOLS³

	SCHOOLS								
	BERKELEY								OAKLAND
	Burbank	Franklin	Lincoln	Longfellow	Emeryville	Bret Harte	Claremont	Lockwood	Totals
Totals	7	5	5	4	27	18	12	11	89
Interstate	6	2	0	0	18	12	8	5	51
State	1	2	2	4	6	6	4	6	31
Unknown	0	1	3	0	3	0	0	0	7
Local	—	3	—	3	1	2	1	—	10
Interstate	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	2
State	—	2	—	3	1	2	—	—	8
Unknown	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Temporary	3	1	—	1	14	7	7	8	41
Interstate	2	1	—	—	12	7	4	2	28
State	1	—	—	1	2	—	3	6	13
Unknown	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Seasonal	—	1	3	—	3	1	—	—	8
Interstate	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
State	—	—	2	—	3	1	—	—	6
Unknown	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	2
Semipermanent	3	—	2	—	5	5	4	1	20
Interstate	3	—	—	—	4	2	3	1	13
State	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	—	4
Unknown	—	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	3
Permanent	1	—	—	—	4	3	—	2	10
Interstate	1	—	—	—	2	3	—	2	8
State	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Unknown	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	2

Many of the children of our study, however, do not belong to seasonal labor families nor to families in straitened circumstances. Some of the families own several residences which they occupy at intervals between more extended periods of travel. Others live at family hotels or apartments, but never are long anywhere. Others still, not so well-to-do, are cases similar to that of Mrs. Anna

³ This table does not give percentages. It merely shows the school location of transient pupils studied.

French Johnson, who writes in her autobiography (she became a minister's wife), "I have lived cheerfully in thirty different houses and attended fifteen different schools."⁴ A case of this sort is the story of one of our families—that of a World War veteran, not well-to-do, but still with income enough to keep his family well above the level of poverty. Jeanne, the schoolgirl member, recalls attending school in seventeen towns or villages (enumerated) and knows that she also lived and went to school in at least two other states but can't remember the names of the towns.

In the state in which the present study was made there seems to be evidence that migratory families tend to concentrate in certain localities. This would be expected in the case of seasonal workers, but it seems to be true also of other types of migrants. A check on *past* residences of the families studied, and in addition the *past* residences of families with children in the "migratory schools" of Fresno County, is suggestive. As would be expected, Alameda County (from which the majority of our cases were located) and Fresno County were high in the number of past residences. But in spite of the fact that no schools in southern California were studied a large number gave Los Angeles County as their past residence. The table which follows (Table III) shows the distribution of past residences by counties.

The distribution of these past residences according to counties in California is given as follows:

TABLE III

<i>County</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Number</i>
Fresno	91	Sacramento	18
Los Angeles	76	Contra Costa	17
Alameda	51	Orange	17
Kern	23	San Francisco	13
Santa Clara	19	Monterey	12

⁴ Anna French Johnson, *The Making of a Minister's Wife*, 1934.

<i>County</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Number</i>
Riverside	12	San Diego	3
San Joaquin	12	Yuba	3
Tulare	12	Lake	2
Kings	11	Placer	2
Merced	10	Shasta	2
San Bernardino	9	Solano	2
Imperial	8	Sutter	2
Santa Cruz	8	Trinity	2
Sonoma	8	Amador	1
San Benito	7	Colusa	1
San Luis Obispo	7	El Dorado	1
Yolo	6	Humboldt	1
Ventura	5	Siskiyou	1
Marin	4	Santa Barbara	1
Mendocino	4	Stanislaus	1
Napa	4	Tehama	1
San Mateo	4		
Madera	3	TOTAL	497

The past residences which have thus far been considered are for California only. As is shown in Table II, 51 out of 89 families carried on their wanderings outside the state as well as within it. A list of states and also of foreign countries in which these families have formerly lived is given here (Tables IV and V).

The number of children in each family represented in the Fresno County "migratory schools" is given in Chart 1. This county is a center for migratory seasonal workers. During the winter the State Department of Education operates these special schools for the children of these families. The curriculum is adapted to their special needs. The teachers in the schools unanimously reported that the children are retarded on the average a year or more in their work, part of the retardation being clearly the result of continued moving and loss of school time.

Characteristics of families and children on the move. The problem of determining the precise effects of family transiency is difficult, perhaps impossible. But by clustering together a number of items which characterize these

families one may get some idea at least of the influence of this situation. As regards children the first item which suggests itself is that of *school retardations*. A number of investigators have tried to discover the effect of changing schools upon retardation of pupils. Certain of these studies may be briefly mentioned. Hamilton⁵ concluded that there

TABLE IV

FOREIGN RESIDENCES OF TRANSIENT FAMILIES

<i>Foreign Country</i>	<i>Number</i>
Mexico	61
Canada	9
Hawaii	3
England	2
France	1
Union of South Africa	1
TOTAL	77

TABLE V

STATE RESIDENCES (OTHER THAN CALIFORNIA) OF TRANSIENT FAMILIES

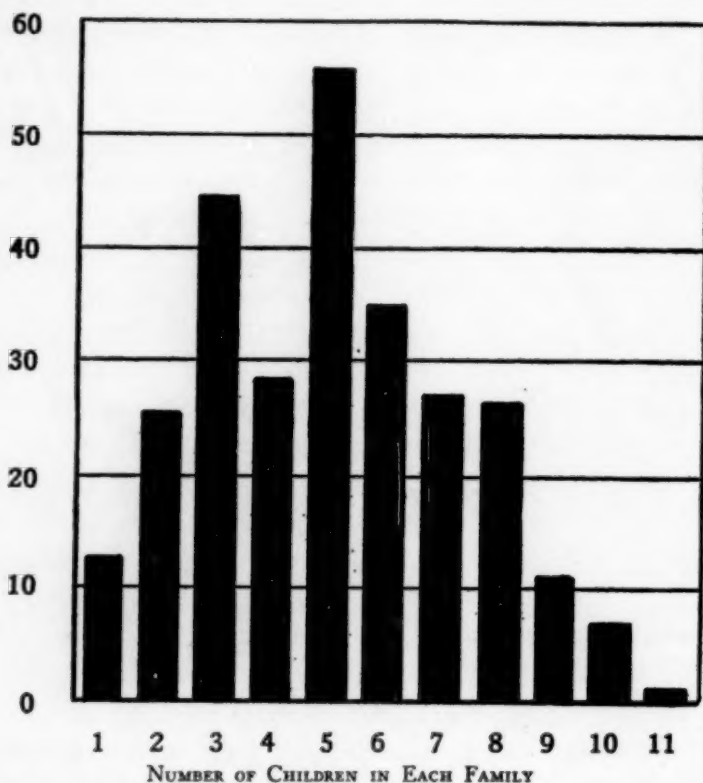
<i>State</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Number</i>
Arizona	36	Missouri	3
Washington	30	Nebraska	3
Oregon	22	Pennsylvania	3
Texas	19	Wisconsin	3
Kansas	10	North Dakota	2
Oklahoma	9	Ohio	2
Utah	8	Tennessee	2
Colorado	7	Alabama	1
Michigan	6	Florida	1
Montana	6	Indiana	1
Illinois	5	Louisiana	1
Nevada	5	Maine	1
Wyoming	5	Massachusetts	1
Idaho	4	Mississippi	1
Iowa	4	New York	1
New Jersey	4	Vermont	1
New Mexico	4	West Virginia	1
South Dakota	4		
Arkansas	3	TOTAL	289

⁵ A. J. Hamilton, unpublished thesis, University of California.

CHART 1

NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN EACH FAMILY REPRESENTED IN THE
FRESNO COUNTY MIGRATORY SCHOOLS

Number
of
Families



Average Number of Children per Family, 5.28

Median Number of Children per Family, 5.00

Total Number of Families, 269

Total Number of Children, 1419

is a slight retardation of children who are transferred from school to school—especially in the low fourth grade. Gwinn,⁶ in examining New Orleans schools, found a marked retardation; children who had moved once or twice lost approximately a year, while those who made

⁶ J. M. Gwinn, *Influence of Changing from School to School*, New Orleans, 1922.

more moves lost a year and a half. Selis,⁷ studying high sixth pupils, discovered some retardation for those who had attended more than two schools. The studies of Bagley and Kyte and of Hathway yield similar evidence of some degree of disadvantage for transient children.

In the present study a similar examination was made in regard to children of transient or mobile families. In 188 cases investigated the records indicate an average retardation of about one third of a year for the group.

The question of the *intelligence level* enters one's mind in this connection. It is easy to assume that such children are members of mentally low-grade families and share this characteristic. Such a conclusion, however, is not warranted from the evidence in this research. Mental test data were gathered in the cases of 70 children of transient families; in each case the moving had been recent and there had been many moves—not merely one or two. The average intelligence quotient of these children was 103.78, which would indicate that they were normal or slightly superior in intelligence. A second average was taken in the cases of 15 children whose parents worked at seasonal labor. The mean I.Q. here was 92.2, showing this group to be below normal, but the cases were too few to serve as a basis for generalization.

Scholarship affords another estimate of the influence of mobility upon school children. In 149 cases a rough average of school reports (aided by teachers' estimates in some cases) indicated that the group was somewhat, though not greatly, below normal scholarship.

Of greater significance is the influence of migratory or transient experience upon *life attitudes and behavior patterns*. It has been pointed out that the constantly moving child is not well centered in community life. He looks at it from the outside—is a social group stranger. Every new move demands adjustment to a new situation. His atti-

⁷ M. J. Selis, "Transfer in the Public Schools," *Elementary School Journal*, 26: 460-66.

tude in this adjustment period and situation may be that of *resentment* and *antagonism*, perhaps characterized by an assumption of superiority resulting from his travelled experience. Perhaps, however, he takes the line of *least resistance*, not opposing the new ways but accepting them externally, keeping his own counsel but remaining aloof from the others. A third type of reaction is shown by the child who has learned how to *get acquainted readily*; he accepts the new situation as something new but interesting, and speedily finds a place inside the group, not outside it. The cases studied bring to light each of these attitudes, throwing light upon the whole social problem of adjustment and assimilation.

* It is impossible, probably, to measure with accuracy these attitudes of children toward their social environment. The most trustworthy method of determining how far family transiency enters into these attitudes seems to the writers to make use of teachers' estimates or judgments in the matter. Four questions, therefore, were asked the teachers in the case of each child studied. These questions were, What is the child's attitude (1) toward fellow pupils, (2) toward the school, (3) toward the teacher, and (4) does he know how to enter into play with other children on the playground? The teachers' answers to these questions stated simply that the child's attitude was "good," "fair," or "poor." A response or record of a relatively normal sort would be rated "good," while marks of "fair" indicate a lack of adjustment. In most cases those marked "fair" or "poor" would fall into the classification of an attitude of antagonism, while the attitudes both of least resistance and of ready adaptability would be graded "good." In order to make a comparison, the children of our 15 families having a record of the most frequent number of moves were contrasted with the entire set of migratory children in regard to whom data was available. The following tables give the facts brought to light:

TABLE VI
TEACHERS' ESTIMATES OF SCHOOL ATTITUDES OF
TRANSIENT CHILDREN

	NORMAL		FAIR		POOR		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
ATTITUDE TOWARD OTHER PUPILS								
All transient children	76	65.52	23	19.83	17	14.65	116	100
Children moving most	6	40	5	33	4	27	15	100
ATTITUDE TOWARD SCHOOL								
All transient children	74	64.91	22	19.30	18	15.79	114	100
Children moving most	7	47	3	20	5	33	15	100
ATTITUDE TOWARD TEACHER								
All transient children	78	68.42	19	16.62	17	14.91	114	100
Children moving most	8	53	3	20	4	27	15	100

TABLE VII
TEACHERS' ANSWERS TO QUESTION: "DOES CHILD KNOW ART OF
PLAYING WITH OTHERS ON PLAYGROUND?"

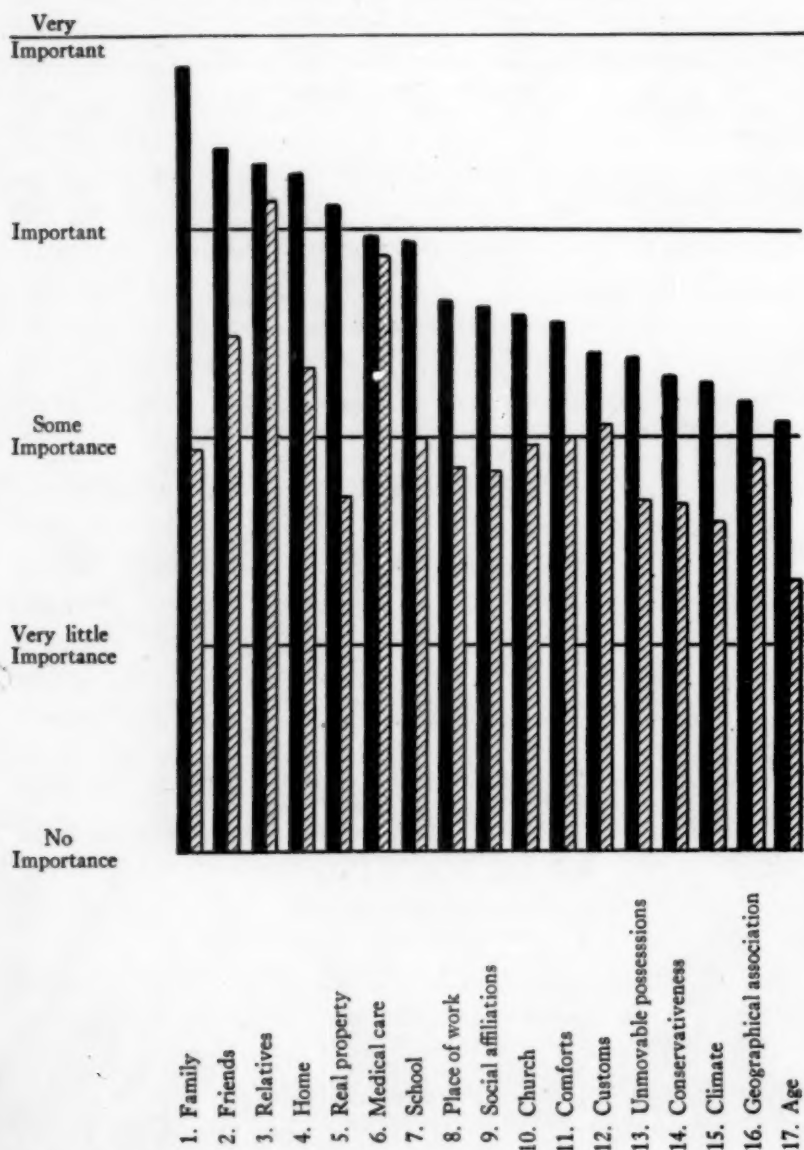
	Yes		No		Total	Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
All transient children	48	75%	16	25%	64	100%
Children moving most	6	50%	6	50%	12	100%

It can readily be seen that there is an evident relationship between frequent family moving and child behavior attitudes. Of the 15 children who had made many moves—from eight upward—60 per cent were judged by their teachers to be only "fair" or "poor" in their attitude toward other pupils, in comparison with 34 per cent of the entire group of children who had a record of some extent of transiency. Similar differences were found in the attitudes to the school and toward the teacher. Exactly half of the 15 who had a record of extreme migratoriness were judged as not knowing how to play with other children, in contrast with 25 per cent of the entire but less transient total.

An effort was made, in our study, to compare the entire group of migratory families with more normal stable or stationary families. Seventeen environmental aspects of family existence which have been found to have a tendency to hold families to one locality were made use of. These characteristics were also to be found in varying degrees

CHART 2

IMPORTANCE TO STATIONARY FAMILIES COMPARED WITH IMPORTANCE
TO MOBILE FAMILIES OF SEVENTEEN FACTORS FOUND TO
BE IMPORTANT TO STATIONARY FAMILIES



Stationary families are shown by black bars; transient families by shaded bars.

CHART 3

ORDER OF IMPORTANCE OF SEVENTEEN FACTORS IMPORTANT IN THE LIVES OF NORMAL FAMILIES

AN AVERAGE OF THE ESTIMATES FOR FIFTY FAMILIES

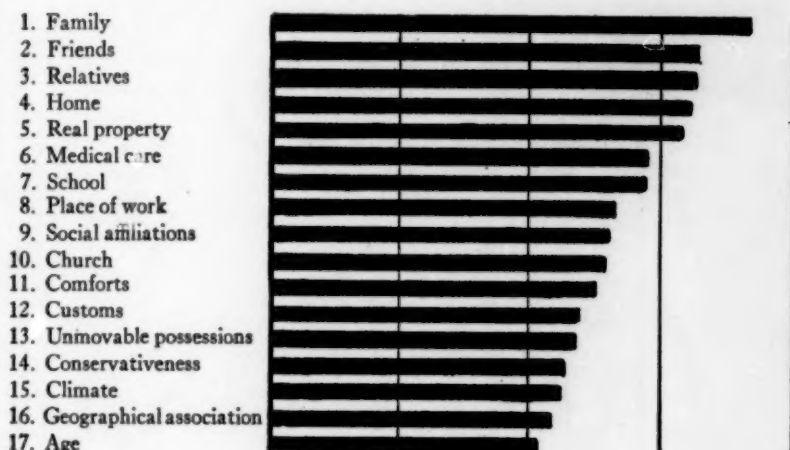
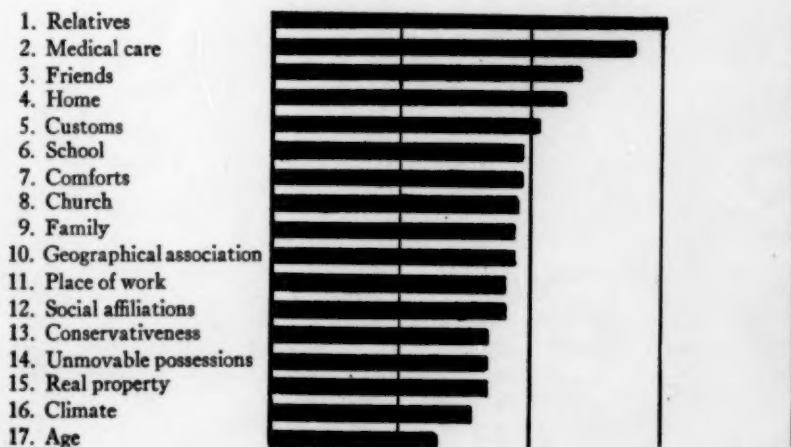


CHART 4

ORDER OF IMPORTANCE OF THE SAME SEVENTEEN FACTORS IN THE LIVES OF TRANSIENT FAMILIES

AN AVERAGE OF THE ESTIMATES FOR FORTY FAMILIES



among moving or nonstationary families. After a thorough study of the nonstationary families had been made each of these characteristic items was given an estimate of its importance as indicated by the history of each family. A like study and an estimate were made of fifty families known to be stationary rather than migratory. The results of the two studies were then compared. It was of course realized that judgments of this sort could not be entirely free from subjective consideration. Nevertheless, considering the relatively large numbers in each of the two groups, it is believed that the comparative picture is essentially truthful.

After the estimates were completed an average was reached for each of the two groups upon every one of the seventeen items. These averages offer a basis for comparison between stationary and nonstationary families. It will be observed from Chart 2 that the relative order of importance of the seventeen items chosen varies considerably as between the two sets of families analyzed. For example, the three items which rate the highest or mean the most as stabilizing influences in the life of the stationary families—family status, friends, relatives—also show a high rating for nonstationary families but in the reverse order, indicating that the family life is not strongly conceived as belonging to one community, while friends now living in some other place, and relatives even more, affect or influence the uprooting and movements of migratory families. The order of items on the chart is the relative and diminishing strength of these factors as revealed by the fifty nonmigratory (stationary) families. A curve from the first to the seventeenth is thus a steadily downward moving line. But a curve joining the same items in the same order for the seventeen migratory families is a distinctly different and more variable line. Thus, evidently each of the factors is to be thought of in relation to all the others; all,

too, are affected by dominant economic aspects operating in the lives of every one of the families in each group. What is presented in this comparison is, thus, a picture in which one type of family reveals a greater emphasis laid upon certain of the common factors, while for the other family type the emphasis is somewhat different.

It is not possible, for reasons of space, to comment upon the varying significance of each of the seventeen items. But one or two may be used as illustrations. The fact of friends is, for example, an outstanding phase of family consciousness in the stationary group—a consciousness shared by the children and making up in part their idea of family and place. The transient families, on the other hand, seem far less bound by friendships, as might be expected. Their records show the existence of few really close friends; acquaintances there were but not so many friends. Relatives other than the immediate household enter into the patterns of life of both types of family, but act somewhat differently as an influence. The long-established families seem to cling to one locality because there are relatives near, while transient or moving families are drawn to other localities because of the fact that they have relatives who have gone to one or another of these newer places. The most usual answer of a transient family to the question why it moved to some particular place seemed to be "we have relatives there."

"Home associations" as a factor in our problem suggests a complex of regard and fondness for a certain place or residence combined with a high valuation of home life itself—the life of the family as a living unit. Evidently it is apt to be dulled in the consciousness of families on the move as compared with stationary families. Yet it would be a mistake to assume it has little or no importance to the migrant group. There was evidence in many families of a conflict between the moving, even roving picture of

life and the hope growing from old memories, often somewhat vivid, of at last settling in some definite place which would mean home.

Among institutional influences—other than work situations—schools, churches, medical aids are of importance. The latter is of greatest significance to the migratory type, often being the outstanding factor—the search for health in a new region or where hospital facilities are better, etc. But it is of practically the same relative importance in preventing movement by the stationary families. The church is of much greater significance to stationary than to transient families. The school has a somewhat greater value to moving families than the church, but it is not quite so important in influencing their activities as it is in the mental control of stationary families.

What is presented as a whole in the comparison of the two groups of families by means of the seventeen items enumerated is a picture of a gradual changing of older behavior attitudes typical of stationary life. The influence of migratory forces begins to appear, not in complete removal of some aspects of the older patterns of life and behavior, but in lighter shading, or less emphasis upon certain of these aspects. How far this gradual change may go it is impossible, of course, to know. But there seems to be real ground for concluding that the increasingly migratory nature of our modern life affects to some degree the behavior patterns of families, especially children in their formative years. The study of the most migratory of the families in our research indicates that they are not broken families to any greater extent than more stable families; nor does family transiency tend toward the breaking of family relationships. If anything, the contrary seems to be the case. But the values of many phases of life association are in process of change, as adjustment is made to more or less continuous movements.

✓ A further conclusion drawn from this study is that
transiency is not confined at all to the poverty level of
society; it is evident also in the middle and upper social
strata. Indeed, there seems reason to believe that it may
* become characteristic of these social layers even more than
among the poorer families.

Thus, while the laborious study of these families and
their children points the real difficulty of judging the
social and mental effects of so involved a phase of modern
life as migratoriness or place mobility, it also leaves the
impression that the problem is a real one of decided social
significance, and worthy of further and more extended
examination.

THE SIT-DOWN STRIKE

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WHEN, early in January of this year, newspaper readers were informed that sit-down strikes in twenty important plants of the great General Motors Corporation were occurring simultaneously, their curiosity was aroused considerably by this description of what must have meant to a majority of them a new type of labor trouble. For forty days thereafter, the press dispatches kept them aware of the progress of this new weapon of a new labor organization called the Committee on Industrial Organization or, more briefly, the C. I. O. And when the news was flashed that a settlement of the dispute had been made, indicating on the face of it at least partial victory for the sit-down strikers, followed shortly by the news that the powerful United States Steel Corporation had capitulated in one of its most important subsidiary plants to the C. I. O., public interest may be said to have been really awakened on the subject of the sit-down strike.

As a matter of fact, the sit-down strike was not the new thing which most American readers thought. By C. I. O. it had been tried out first on a small scale late in 1936 in some of the automobile accessory plants with much success. But Dr. Don Lescohier, writing a supplementary article for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, states that he is indebted to the *Literary Digest* for research notes which place the first recorded sit-down strike as occurring in 1485 during the building of the Rouen Cathedral. Workers on the Cathedral belonged to a *companionage* and had gone on strike for better wages. Discovering that they were to be supplanted by imported workmen, some sat on the scaffolding, others in the completed part of the building,

while the rest formed picket lines in front of the structure. Threatened with ejection, they promised to destroy the half-completed building, and won the strike. Other sit-downs were attempted by the Lyons bakers in 1565, and by the typographers of the same city in 1730. In both cases, however, the strikers were compelled by military tactics to evacuate. England, in 1817, had a sit-down strike in one of its northern textile factories.¹

Louis Adamic, reporting for *The Nation*, states that the first American sit-downs had taken place in 1933 at Akron, Ohio, in several of the rubber factories located there. These were quickly ended, however, when the workers were granted their requests.² This was long before the inception of the C. I. O. Well-informed readers may also recall that mine workers in a Jugoslavian mine had refused to leave the depths of the mine shaft until their demands for better wages and working conditions had been satisfied. They threatened to stay down until victory was achieved or death had relieved them. This was in 1934. The sympathy in behalf of their plight so aroused public opinion that their demands were met. *Life* reports that the sit-down is really a craze which traces its origin to France where the "election of Leftist Premier Blum last spring provoked such an epidemic of sit-downs that by June 1,000,000 workers were idle."³ Early experience with the sit-down seems to have indicated that it possessed a remarkable effectiveness in bringing about immediate attention to the strike situation, an immediacy not always apparent in the more common walk-out form of strike.

The sit-down strike may be defined as a collective refusal to work, accompanied by a refusal to leave the place

¹ "Sit-Down Strikes," *The World Today*, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 4:1, April, 1937.

² "Sit-Down: II," *The Nation*, 143:702, Dec. 12, 1936.

³ "America's Sit-Down Craze Traces its Origin to France," *Life*, 2:18-19, April 5, 1937.

of work pending negotiations for the settlement of the demands of the workers. Workers merely stop operations and sit down in the factory, thus virtually taking possession of it and bringing to a halt the industrial processes.

The origin of all this is probably simple enough. Almost every child who plays a game has participated at some time in a kind of sit-down when his assigned role in the game at hand has failed to please him. By refusing to go on, he finds very often that the game cannot proceed. Unless he can be reasoned with, or some satisfactory adjustment be made, the game is ruined, and the pleasure for the others disappears. If the adjustments are made for him, he cannot help but become victory conscious. Thus, his sense of recognition is satisfied in no small way.

There are some grounds for believing, too, that the sit-down is a Gandhi-like form of non-violent coercion. Certainly, the Gandhi method has been in part successful enough to have invited attention to its efficacy in apparently harsh and difficult situations. Senator Wagner, author of the Wagner Labor Relations Act, according to recent press dispatches, claimed that employers gave the first incentive to the workers in the sit-down when they themselves engaged in a virtual sit-down by refusing to accede to the decisions of the National Industry Recovery Labor Boards. Some genesis may be found also in the various hunger strikes that prisoners have indulged in when their sentences have been deemed as acts of injustice. Then, in 1908, according to Dr. Lescotier in the *Britannica* article cited previously, there occurred a form of strike which might be called the *slow-down* strike. This happened in Italy where a group of railway workers, dissatisfied with working conditions, slowed down their operations by performing them so meticulously that the railroads were brought to a halt.

The epidemic nature which has manifested itself recent-

ly in the sit-down and other forms may also involve the social psychologic phenomena of imitation. Perhaps the fad element may be also involved.

What are the apparent advantages of the sit-down strike over the usual walk-out type? First of all, it has been generally nonviolent as far as the strikers are concerned. Where violence has appeared, it has done so largely because of attempts on the part of employers and the police to oust strikers from the occupied plants. This puts the blame for disturbance on the other side. Second, there is the inherent strength which attaches itself to nonviolent resistance itself. It seems a mere bit of brutality to hit a man who is not fighting. Sympathy is likely to be extended to the underdog who appears to have no other weapon of defense than to offer himself as a sacrifice for whatever wounds the onslaught may bring. Third, its effectiveness is enhanced by the fact that a few key men may be able to stop the work of a hundred others, who in turn can defend their position by pointing out that they cannot work unless the key men work. A sort of kinship may be created by this attitude. Fourth, there is the satisfaction brought to each individual that his particular part in the working operation is essential, and that he, after all, is not just a cog in the machinery which can be easily dispensed with. This gives, as it gave to the child in the game, a new and added importance to the worker's sense of his urge for recognition. Fifth, there is the difficulty attendant upon ejection of the men without the possibilities of wholesale destruction of the interior of the factory. Finally, the non-violence of the movement within the shop makes for greater sociability among the workers who quickly recognize the fact of "consciousness of kind." This creates a new solidarity among them, and when those on the outside who are supplying food and comforts to them are included, the solidarity takes on the important and vital air of co-op-

eratism. Indeed, it has been said that this sociability and this co-operatism have been marked factors in the American sit-down. Some observers have pointed out that many workers have taken the whole thing as a "lark," while others have declared that it gives the workers at last an outlet for a hidden desire to just sit down and tell the boss to go some place else. Speeding-up may have brought about the origin of this latter attitude.

Weaknesses of the sit-down may be stated as follows: first, it may be started by a few disgruntled and discontented workers, who may communicate their grievances in such a way that all the rest begin to fancy that they have the same troubles. John L. Lewis, head of the C. I. O., seems to have recognized this because he recently gave a warning to hotheaded strikers at a meeting of 25,000 unionists in Detroit. He declared,

Your union has given its pledge that during the life of the agreement there will be no stoppage of production. That means sit-downs, stand-ups, walk-outs, or stay-ins. It means that ways and means are provided for adjudication of disputes and to settle any controversy.⁴

Second, constant usage and repetition may affect the public adversely, suggesting infantility needing immediate and drastic punishment. Third, the invasion of property rights may be looked upon with the utmost of suspicion that it is a method undemocratic and teeming with proletarian threats to do away with private property altogether. Henry Ford is quoted by *Time* as stating: "Those who seize property not their own are in the same category as housebreakers. The politicians who were elected as our public servants are policemen in a sense and should protect our rights."⁵

Thus far, the sit-down strike has not been utilized by the old-time craft unionists of the American Federation of

⁴ Cf. *Time*, 29:16, April 10, 1937.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

Labor but by the industrial type of unionist headed by John L. Lewis of the Committee on Industrial Organization. Since this faction has been suspended from membership by the American Federation, whatever it does is looked upon with suspicion by the Federation. Since employers look upon the sit-down with great disfavor, they are apt in the future to take every precaution to prevent their employees from affiliating with the C. I. O. Indeed, it has been reported that some employers are urging their men to join the American Federation in order to forestall the advent of the C. I. O.

Final points to be considered in connection with the sit-down are its relationship to law and order. That much legal consternation has arisen over the increase in the number of sit-downs may be easily discernible when one considers that in the General Motors strike not only were court orders to evacuate the two plants in Flint ignored by the strikers, but the sheriff charged with carrying out the orders of the court was asked by Michigan's Governor Murphy not to enforce the order on the grounds that no bloodshed must occur. Later, when the sit-down steel strikers in a South Chicago steel plant were ordered to leave, they followed the example set by the Flint workers, and Governor Horner of Illinois followed the pattern laid down by Governor Murphy.

This defiance of court orders if persisted in may have far-reaching consequences. Conservatives are prone to look upon the approval of the defiances as a first step toward the dictatorship of a labor element. Those sympathetically inclined toward the strikers may see in it nothing more than a reversal of the previous situation wherein some courts issued labor injunctions with remarkable favor and bias toward the industrial corporations. It is certain that neither of these points of view can be compatible with the true spirit of democracy. Secretary of Labor Perkins has wisely asked Congress to enact a bill which would

compel labor disputants to appear before the Department of Labor at Washington for conference purposes in order to avert strikes and labor troubles. Since the Supreme Court of the United States has now declared the Wagner Labor Relations Act constitutional, establishing the collective bargaining rights of employees with freedom to organize in a manner selected by them, employees may be less inclined to interfere with production processes.

Professor Leon Green, Dean of Northwestern Law School in Chicago, has ably presented the legalistic case for the sit-down by pointing out that the *industrial relation* between employer and employee has now obtained the status of an institution. "All institutions built upon relational interests of the groups concerned must submit to the obligations which have grown up around the particular relation," he declares, "and if it is to be destroyed it must be done subject to such obligations."⁶ Therefore, he holds that this relation is based upon infinitely more than a mere contract, and that employers cannot fire their employees *en masse* any more than a husband may fire his wife, or a parent his child. And so, employees may "peacefully sit and wait until their complaints are ironed out through negotiations between their representatives and the representatives of the corporate group of owners."⁷ Dean Green thinks that the government will or should in the near future find it necessary to define the industrial relation in much the same manner that it has defined other institutions and their functional structures, such as the family and the corporation.

In conclusion, it may be interesting to cite several opinions which have been publicized on both sides of the sit-down and its social meaning. Upton Sinclair has been quoted as writing in his *Epic News*:

⁶ "The Case for the Sit-Down Strike," *The New Republic*, 90:200, March 24, 1937.

⁷ *Loc. cit.*

Now at last they have found a way of getting together. They have found a program and leadership, and a method of warfare which paralyzes their employers and their police and gunmen. They tell you that the sit-down is unlawful, and I answer that every effort of the dispossessed of this earth throughout all recorded history has been unlawful, and remains so as long as the masters make the laws.⁸

On the other hand, Monsignor John A. Ryan of the Catholic University of America declares that the sit-down is too "easily abused and never should have been invented."

Among other things, he states:

The men guilty of this form of strike have no intention of occupying the property indefinitely or of exercising over it the full power of ownership. Nor will their actions necessarily or even peculiarly lead to that eventuality.

Almost equally misleading is the assumption by some defenders of the practice, that the workers have a right to their jobs, and therefore, a right to occupy the machinery of the factory, at least temporarily. A right to a job is not a right to machinery; it is simply a right to continue in a certain relation to the machinery; that is, as operators.⁹

However, Monsignor Ryan holds that when the objects of the strike are to right grievous wrongs, the workers "would have the right to use force against this kind and degree of unjust aggression."

New Jersey's Governor Hoffman used the following reasoning in an effort to tell how he would welcome the advent of a sit-down in his state:

A labor union has no more right to take possession of a factory than a band of gangsters has to take possession of a bank To the citizens of New Jersey I promise—and to lawless organizations I give warning—that, if necessary, the entire resources of the state will be called into action to preserve the rights, liberties and property of its citizens. . . .¹⁰

Henry Ford, quoted previously on his attitude toward

⁸ *The Open Forum*, Los Angeles, April 17, 1937, p. 2.

⁹ *The Tidings*, April 9, 1937. (Official Organ of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles.)

¹⁰ "Labor," *Time*, 29:4, March 1, 1937.

the sit-down, had more to say on the fight for collective bargaining now being made by the sit-downers. He remarked:

There shouldn't be any bargaining or dealing necessary between employers and employees. Our company pays the best wages it can and always has. We keep a surplus on hand so as to be independent of financiers, but our surplus has not increased. We can pay more when we increase the quantity of our production. We're all workers together, the men and I."¹¹

John Brophy, director of the C. I. O., in a letter to Louis Adamic, with permission to print in *The Nation*, stated the union position very carefully as follows:

Sit-down strikes . . . may be a very necessary and useful weapon. In the formative and promotional stage of unionism in a certain type of industry, the sit-down strike has real value. After the workers are organized and labor relations are regularized through collective bargaining, then we do urge that the means provided within the wage contract for adjusting grievances be used by the workers.¹²

Time reports Senator Borah of Idaho as piercing the underlying cause of the sit-down with the following statement:

As I look at it, they [the strikers] are fighting for what they deem to be their rights in an economic system which is dominated . . . by lawlessness and largely by reason of the fact that the Government does not enforce the law. . . . The power belongs to us to restore economic justice to the economic system of the United States or, take my word for it, we will have something more than sit-down strikes in the United States.¹³

Nearly all the sit-down strikes have been symptomatic of unrest within the factory walls. They have been largely due to the denial of real collective bargaining rights with organizations formed by the workers themselves. Company unions, with the employer acting as the labor organ-

¹¹ "Labor," *Time*, 29:16, April 19, 1937.

¹² "Sitdown: II," *The Nation*, 143:704.

¹³ "Labor," *Time*, 29:13, March 29, 1937.

izer, cannot be said to be capable of offering true collective bargaining. Since corporations per se are often gigantic combinations of men possessing great financial strength and efficient managerial capacities, their bargaining power would not be seriously threatened by granting recognition to a combination of workers whose only strength lies in their own solidarity and leadership. There has been enough experience in industrial relations to show that peace can be maintained in industry when both sides play fair and refrain from taking unfair advantage of each other.

THE NEW LIFE MOVEMENT OF CHINA

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THE NEW LIFE movement of China! What is the movement? Does the movement aim at a new way of living? What is the new way?

Few activities of this country have deserved such public attention as has this movement. There are new life forums, new life stamps, new life publications, new life essay contests, new life dress materials, new life household furnishings, and what nots.

The New Life Movement of the Central Government of the Chinese Republic that aims at the revolution of the living habits of China's 320,000,000 farmers and more than a million other civilians is one way of remolding and rebuilding their lives under the leadership of General Chiang Kai-shek, today's idol of China. In other words, the movement aims to transform the life of the Chinese nation. By the simplest and most effective methods, it intends to change people's habits which are not up-to-date and not in keeping with the world. Life is to be made to suit the present time and the present environment.

General Chiang's leadership in this movement by no means gains strength from his military capability, his mental resourcefulness, or his education. It obtains its strength from the reasonableness of his doctrine which is to live in simplicity on the basis of the four important traditional virtues of China, namely, courtesy, righteousness, discrimination, and consciousness.

It is a gigantic task to rebuild the living habits of the mass of China, for the population has been divided geographically as well as politically, for the population has been indifferent to the march of time and various kinds of

changes around them, for individual liberty in the matter of personal conduct has been thus far maintained, and the mass has been conservative toward social change.

With General Chiang as the leader of the movement and the Kuomintang supporting it, the movement seeks the revival of the four traditional virtues through public organizations with a little open or implied compulsion. It proceeds by the issuing of specific edicts on buttoning-up coats, smoking in public, permanent wave of hair, tight dressing, et cetera, while public officials heralding the movement take the lead in proper dressing and living.

Followers of the new life movement emphasize manners. Courtesy, in the broad sense of the word, they take to mean being polite, law-abiding, careful, filial, respectful of the aged, and being friendly. In other words, courtesy is order. There is order in nature in the form of physical and chemical laws. There is order in society in the form of social etiquette. There is order in the state in the form of legal discipline. To conduct one's behavior in such ways may be called orderly conduct; and its expression, orderly attitude.

Righteousness is taken to mean that which is for the public good; to be worldly, unselfish, refraining from usurping other's rights, untiring, constructive, and reasonable. It is to be appropriate in action.

Discrimination means discernment, that is, the ability to distinguish between right and wrong. It teaches one to do what one knows to be right and avoid what one knows to be wrong. It is important for an official, a public servant, to tell the good from the bad, to avoid the sweeping influence of luxury, and to stand against greed.

Consciousness is the knowledge to be conscious of shame and disgust. When one's action does not conform to courtesy, righteousness, discrimination and is felt to be disgraceful, it is shame. When another's action does not

conform to courtesy, righteousness, and discrimination and is felt to be disgraceful, it is disgust. With thorough understanding of shame, one will strive for self-betterment; with feeling of disgust, one strives for reform. For every nation, consciousness should be the motive, discrimination the guide, righteousness the fulfillment, and courtesy the expression.

It is true that these four virtues are so old that people forget them, neglect them, or simply ignore them, thinking that this is a new age and a new social order. One group of skeptics is of the opinion that these virtues alone cannot save the country and that more emphasis should be placed upon knowledge and skill. And, another group of skeptics considers such virtues as mere formalities. These virtues are unable to save people from hunger and cold.

However, the promoters of the movement are putting the cart behind the horse and are making the four virtues the horsemen, riding a specified course from village to village, city to city, and province to province. Their patterns are to be followed.

At present, attention is called on the street to the improper dressing of pedestrians, the tipping system is in the process of being abolished, restaurant menus are to be simplified, and new regulations are being established for weddings and funerals. The bewildering and extravagant manner in which wedding and funeral corteges are conducted is to be ended in the near future. The promulgation of unified rules in connection with weddings and funerals is in line with the present new life movement, which emphasizes orderliness and simplicity in all modes of living. According to the new rules, both Chinese and Western bands may be used either together or separately in wedding and funeral processions, but not more than two bands are allowed in one procession. The tunes played by the bands, it is emphasized, must suit the occasion. For a fu-

neral procession, jazz tunes are not allowed. The participants in both wedding and funeral corteges must wear uniforms made of native materials, and must appear clean and orderly. Hiring of beggars with smeared faces and bare feet to form part of a procession, as has been done frequently, is to be prohibited. The number of professional pallbearers, according to the new rules, must not exceed sixteen, while today there may be as many as sixty-four. Monks and priests may be employed to form part of the funeral cortege, if not violating the rules. Buddhist, Taoist, Mohammedan, or Christian rites may be used. In several principal cities, it is stipulated that a fine of twenty dollars will be imposed upon an offender.

To further simplify many of the habits of the Chinese, the movement emphasizes that extravagance in feasting shall be strictly done away with. The number of courses of a dinner is to be reduced, and the nature of the dishes is also to be modified.

EDUCATION AND RACE ATTITUDES

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THIS paper has grown out of a questionnaire answered by 835 students in Southeastern Oklahoma Teachers College and in the Russell High School of Durant, Oklahoma, during the summer term of 1935, and by a group of 183 sociology students in the summer of 1936. In 1935, answers were procured from 730 college students and 105 students of high school age to questions based on the Bogardus Social Distance Recording Scale for racial and/or nationality groups in an effort to find out whether friendliness to other peoples than one's own grows with the educative process, remains unchanged, or actually diminishes. This was the sole question in mind when the schedules were placed in the hands of the students. Other questions arose, however, which led to the further study in 1936.

The use made of the Bogardus scale needs clarification. In the first place, at the suggestion of R. R. Tompkins, who superintends the Russell High School, the first statement was limited to the words, "Would welcome to close kinship," without reference to marriage, for the sake of younger students. In the second place, the students were asked to reply *yes* or *no* to every item of the seven, *kinship*, *chum*, *neighbor*, *fellow worker or competitor*, *citizen*, *visitor only*, or *complete exclusion from country* as the approved relation with a Negro, a Japanese, a German, a Frenchman, an American Indian, or an Englishman. As a result, 62 students reversed the third and the fourth items by preferring to live on the same street with Negroes, for example, to working with them in the same vocation. In the third place, calculations were made on the basis of the number of relations excluded by each person

with a given race, regardless of the order of the item in the presented scale, and no attempt was made at weighting the items. Three negative reactions of a person to a race or nationality meant three relations excluded out of the six he could possibly exclude. On this basis, if a group of 100 students excluded on an average of three relations each with one of the nationalities involved, the result would be 300/600 of the total possible social distance which the instrument indicates might exist between the two groups; that is, the reacting group as a group shows .500 of the greatest possible social distance the scale attempts to measure.

The use of such an index facilitates the comparison of the attitudes of different class, sex, and age groups toward a given nation or race and shows at a glance the trend in attitudinal changes running through the educative process.

As already indicated, the question that prompted the test concerned changes from class to class alone, the information being sought with the full realization that the same students should be tested every year in order to obtain more significant results. However, one faculty colleague took exceptions to some rather friendly answers given by various students and suggested that the study of sociology might be responsible for such friendliness. Hence it happened that an additional question arose: To what extent do students of sociology differ from nonsociology students in their reactions to peoples not their own? The table below gives an answer to this and other questions for the particular group tested and, of course, for no other.

In the summer of 1936 the test was limited to 183 sociology students, consisting of 125 first enrollments and of fifty-eight men and women who had completed more than four hours in the subject. Of these, seventy-two had credit for less than ten semester hours in history and government, sixty-one had from eleven to nineteen hours in

TABLE I

THE NUMBER OF DESIGNATED RELATIONS WITH THE MEMBERS OF CERTAIN RACIAL AND NATIONAL GROUPS EXCLUDED BY STUDENTS OF VARIOUS CLASS, AGE, SEX, AND DEPARTMENTAL GROUPS COMPARED WITH THE GREATEST POSSIBLE NUMBER OF DESIGNATED RELATIONS THAT THE MEMBERS OF EACH STUDENT GROUP COULD EXCLUDE: SUMMER, 1935.

Class, Dept., Sex, and Age Groups	Number of Students	Index of Group Attitudes Determined by the Number of Relations Excluded with the					
		Negro	Japanese	German	French	American Indian	Eng- lish
Junior high school	45	.626	.350	.174	.116	.023	#
Senior high school	60	.692	.525	.058	.029	.102	#
Freshmen in college	91	.722	.478	.098	.069	.060	#
Sophomores	161	.727	.526	.102	.059	.075	#
No sociology	112	.793	.566	.129	.082		
At least one course	49	.547	.435	.069	.030		
Juniors	214	.668	.498	.094	.060	.079	#
No sociology	115	.677	.544	.112	.069		
At least one course	99	.628	.395	.065	.040		
Seniors	221	.634	.453	.073	.079	.064	#
No sociology	130	.718	.500	.098	.115	.078	#
At least one course	91	.566	.373	.036	.030	.056	#
All sociology students	245	.592	.398	.052	.041	.060	#
Undergraduate men	236	.664					
" women	445	.650					
American Indian students, mostly mixed bloods of all ages and grades	107	.680	.526				
Students with no Indian blood	728	.672					
Degree teachers doing graduate work	42	.618	.473	.024	.051	.100	#
Average age of college Freshmen							
21.1 yrs.	91	.722	.478	.098	.069	.060	
Sophomores							
21.1 yrs.	161	.727	.526	.102	.059	.075	
Juniors	23.7 yrs.	214	.668	.498	.094	.060	.079
Seniors	26.7 yrs.	221	.634	.453	.073	.079	.064
Students—							
10-14 yrs. of age		.600					
15-19 " " "		.650					
20-24 " " "		.670					
25-29 " " "		.703					
30-34 " " "		.710					
35-39 " " "		.670					
40 and more		.605					

Too small to be appreciable.

these two subjects, and fifty-two had twenty semester hours or more. Sixty-two had credit in college classes in religious education, while 122 had no such credit. The results are shown in Table II.

TABLE II

THE NUMBER OF DESIGNATED RELATIONS WITH THE MEMBERS OF CERTAIN RACIAL AND NATIONAL GROUPS EXCLUDED BY STUDENTS WHO HAVE DONE VARYING AMOUNTS OF WORK IN DIFFERENT COLLEGE DEPARTMENTS COMPARED WITH THE GREATEST POSSIBLE NUMBER OF DESIGNATED RELATIONS THAT THE MEMBERS OF EACH STUDENT GROUP COULD EXCLUDE: SUMMER, 1936—ALL ENROLLED IN THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY. E. S. B.

Subject or Class	Semester Hours Completed in the Subject	Number of Students	Index of Group Attitudes Determined by the Number of Relations Excluded with the				
			Negro	Japanese	German	French	American English
Sociology—Less than 4 hours		125	.713	.631	.151	.138	.094 #
Sociology—More than 4 hours		58	.699	.585	.063	.051	.054 #
Sociology students who have had History and Government—Less than 10 hours		72	.713	.619	.131	.090	.080
11-19 hours		61	.700	.625	.131	.116	.116
20 hours or more		52	.708	.638	.067	.080	.080
Religious Education—One college course or more		62	.689	.529	.095	.103	.073
No courses		122	.718	.692	.118	.098	.095
All juniors with Sociology		90	.650	.610	.120	.070	.090
Less than 4 hours		61	.705	.620			
More than 4 hours		29	.570	.542			
Juniors enrolled in Sociology who have History							
Less than 10 hours		33	.660	.666			
11-19 hours		34	.715	.605			
20 hours or more		15	.702	.768			

No appreciable social distance toward the English.

Several conclusions may be drawn from a study of these tables: (1) Friendliness for other races and nations than one's own does not grow in the college group studied as the students advance in the educative process unless di-

rect attention is given to the development of an appreciation of the culture and the worth of other peoples. (2) There is probably little reason to suspect that the group studied is radically different from other college or university groups in this respect. (3) The social science taught in the freshman year of college very clearly is not conducive to the growth of friendliness or else its influence is counteracted by other factors. Table I indicates that sophomores are least friendly of all. (4) Sociology students as group, whether they have had courses in race relations or not, showed themselves somewhat more friendly than nonsociology students toward peoples other than their own. Table II indicates that the sociology students of 1936 were less friendly than those of 1935 toward the groups studied, but students with more than four hours in the subject were consistently more friendly than students with less than four hours. Very few of the 1935 students were present in 1936. (5) As seen in Table II, sociology students who were also students of religion were less given to prejudice than the sociology group taken as a whole, but certainly not consistently less than those students who had completed more than four hours in sociology. (6) With reference to the influence of history and government, Table II indicates no appreciable difference between sociology students with less than ten and those with twenty or more hours in these two subjects. Students with from eleven to nineteen hours in these subjects showed more animosity toward three and less toward one designated group than those with ten hours.

In Table I we see: (7) Seniors graduating from college without courses in sociology were no more friendly to other nations and peoples than freshmen entering college. (8) The forty-two degree teachers doing graduate work did not differ appreciably in their reactions from the children of junior high school age except in their attitudes

toward the Germans and the French. Toward these they showed less distance than the children, while being somewhat more exclusive in their relations with Japanese and Indians. (9) Racial social distance increased steadily by five-year periods up to the age-group 30-34, but decreased after that. (10) The responding classes, being summer enrollments, were somewhat older than the average college constituency, the mean age for freshmen being 21.1 years, sophomores the same, juniors 23.7 years, and seniors 26.7 years of age. The age factor, however complicated with other factors, was clearly counteracted only among students of sociology. (11) The reactions of 236 undergraduate men and 445 undergraduate women toward Negroes did not vary greatly, the index for men being .664 and .650 for women. (12) Students of Indian blood, pure and mixed, most of whom were more white than Indian, were no more appreciative of other races than non-Indian students. In fact, they were more distant, as a group, from the Japanese than non-Indians, although both Indians and Japanese are classed as Mongolians.

Finally we may also reach two other conclusions: (1) Studies should be made of the attitudes of the same class as it moves forward from year to year in order to determine more fully the influence of the educative process. (2) If growth in international and interracial friendliness is a sign of progress, education as a factor in this aspect of progress will have to wait upon a change in the attitude of teachers. Perhaps the attitude of the teacher is of more significance than the subject studied. One college professor, for instance, remarked, "If I respond, you will surely find out how little I think of Negroes." He did not respond.

This study, fragmentary as it is, will, it is hoped, contribute something to our knowledge of the relation of education and intergroupal friendliness.

LEADERSHIP IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1787

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LEADERSHIP in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 was a compound of several different factors. Perhaps it would not be too much to say that the four best criteria of this leadership were influence, ability, activity, and success in getting worth-while things done.

By influence is meant that weight which a delegate carried in the convention because of his past experience, positions held, reputation, popularity, or a combination of several of these. Reputation and popularity may well have been dependent upon a man's past successes. Washington had been the commander-in-chief of the Revolutionary armies. Franklin had the Treaty of Alliance with France in 1778 and the Peace Treaty with England in 1783 to his credit. Robert Morris had managed the Revolutionary finances in an able manner. Mason was the author of the Virginia Bill of Rights, the model for all similar bills. Randolph was Governor of Virginia, the most important state in the union. Sherman had a long list of state and colonial services to his credit. These men, and others as well, had some influence in the convention because of their past. But pure influence is rather intangible. There is no accurate method of measuring it dissociated from other factors. Pure influence, due to a delegate's past successes, may be recorded as the least important of the factors contributing to leadership in the convention.

Ability as a criterion of leadership in the Constitutional Convention may be thought of as including a man's native intelligence, his education, political experience, the quality of his judgment, and his spirit of co-operation. In other

words, the ability of a delegate may be measured by the qualifications which especially fitted him to deal effectively with the particular task of constitution making which confronted the convention. The most able members possessed a combination of several of these attributes. It is comparatively easy to divide the delegates into three classes from the viewpoint of ability. That, however, cannot be done in this short paper.

Activity is a much more valuable test of leadership in the convention than either influence or ability. As a rule, the most active members were also the most able. Tests of activity in the convention include motions made or seconded, speeches made, service on committees, and offices held. The mere amount of a delegate's activity can easily be found by counting the speeches, motions and seconds made, and the committee appointments received. It is very easy, from the facts thus secured, to divide the members into three classes as far as activity is concerned. Several delegates made no speeches, no motions, received no committee appointments, or did practically none of these things. Beck has declared that "in all public bodies, there are two kinds of men: the first do the talking, and the others do the working."¹ To apply that to the Constitutional Convention of 1787 as he does is wrong, for in this case, at least, the workers did the talking and the talkers did the work. No doubt many private conferences were held between sessions; no doubt there was much backstage activity, but the evidence of this is relatively slight. It is impossible accurately to estimate its weight in the scales of accomplishment. Inactivity by itself accomplished nothing.

The most valuable of all measurements of leadership in the Constitutional Convention is the success in getting worth-while things done, especially success in writing pro-

¹ James M. Beck, *The Constitution of the United States*, p. 73.

visions into the Constitution. This ties up closely with activity because only those advancing definite propositions would have any chance in getting their ideas adopted. But mere activity is not enough. To discover the real accomplishments of a delegate, it is necessary, not only to count the number of motions made and seconded, but to determine how many of them were carried; it is not enough to count the number of speeches made and to list the propositions favored or opposed, but it is necessary to determine how many of these were accepted by the convention and how many were rejected; it is not enough merely to list the number of committee appointments received, although this means much, but it is necessary to evaluate, when possible, a member's services on the committees to which he was appointed. By these tests a man's real, constructive influence in the convention can be most accurately approximated.

The effect of attendance at the convention upon leadership is self-evident. Only those in attendance could take part and thus have any opportunity to impress the other delegates. Those who came late, those who left early, and those who were in and out of the convention naturally had their activity cut short and, hence, their opportunity to lead.

Mere attendance, on the other hand, unaccompanied by participation in the work of the convention, produced only one good result. The inactive members—those who never made a speech, a motion, or received a committee appointment—still rendered a valuable service in voting. In this way they served as a sort of jury, accepting or rejecting the propositions advanced by the active members. This, however, is the opposite of leadership. There were no leaders among these silent members. If inactivity disqualified the silent members from leadership, the group still did much to build up the real leaders of the convention by ap-

proving their measures. Some would-be leaders failed of success because their measures were rejected by the members who did nothing but vote. To be a real leader implies having followers. Hamilton, one of the most brilliant men in the convention, cannot be ranked as a leader because no one followed his lead.

By way of summary, leadership in the Constitutional Convention may be measured by contributions made. These in every case resulted from influence, ability, or activity exerted alone or in some combination. In making worth-while contributions to the Constitution, influence derived from the preconvention period had the least effect. Ability, unexerted, accomplished little. Activity was the most important single factor, but activity needed to be wisely directed. Mere activity might accomplish little. Activity, coupled with ability, produced the most constructive results. Therefore, the palm of leadership in the Constitutional Convention, measured by accomplishment, must go to those active delegates whose effort was tempered by ability and good judgment and to those men of ability who did not disdain the rough and tumble of debate.

There is a general belief to the effect that Washington, Franklin, and Hamilton were the real leaders of the Constitutional Convention, the chief architects of the Constitution. The statement is so grossly false as to leave the impression that those who make it are either terribly ignorant or wilful deceivers. The claim for Franklin must be based upon his earlier services, that for Hamilton upon later activities, and that for Washington upon his great accomplishments both before and after the convention.

Washington's part in the convention has been exaggerated. It is asserted that he called the convention, was the first arrival, was the author of certain notes on ancient confederations, and that he dominated the meeting. He did none of these things. Washington was influential in

calling the convention. He went to it with a great reputation and he had the greatest single influence of any man in the country. He presided over the convention acceptably to most of the delegates. Luther Martin thought he was not impartial. There was, however, a break in his presidency, so to speak. During the first twenty-five days of the convention, the members preferred to meet as a committee of the whole, during which time Washington sat as a member of the Virginia delegation.

Washington was not a scholar, not a deep student of government. During the sessions he spoke but once upon a question before the house. If he had so desired, he might have spoken several times while sitting as a member. He voted as a member, even while in the President's chair. His votes generally coincided with those of Madison. He backed Madison in the latter's leadership, rather than the opposite. In so far as his opinions were known to the delegates, they, no doubt, had influence. There is little evidence that he was consulted before and after sessions by the members. Few were on terms of intimacy with him. Of all the members of the convention, none was closer to Washington than Hamilton. The latter left the meeting near the close of June. On July 3 he wrote to Washington from New York City. A significant phrase in his letter reads: "Not having compared ideas with you, sir, I cannot judge how far our sentiments agree."² If Hamilton had not compared ideas with Washington before he left Philadelphia, there is grave doubt that many other members had done so. The extent to which Washington's opinions affected the proceedings remains unknown. Farrand ranks him third in the convention in general influence. As a constructive force he did little.

As in the case of Washington, the influence of Franklin in the convention has also been greatly exaggerated. He

² John C. Hamilton, *History of the Republic of the United States of America*, Vol. III, p. 317.

was 81 years of age and very feeble. He could not stand for long on his feet, hence Wilson read his longest speeches for him. He is mentioned 48 times in Madison's *Notes*. Franklin made 27 speeches, ranking eighteenth in this regard. He made five motions and seconded six. Only three of the eleven were carried. Franklin was appointed on two committees, one of them important and one so unimportant that it never reported. As a member of the committee which reported out the great compromise, Franklin is said to have made the motion which embodied the compromise. This was a great service.

An analysis of Franklin's speeches shows that out of fifteen propositions favored by him only three were adopted, while out of six opposed, the convention agreed with him in only two. In other words, out of twenty-one propositions favored or opposed, he had the convention with him only five times. Among other measures Franklin favored a plural executive, a national legislature of one house only, no pay for senators, and giving the national legislature power to suspend state laws. Early in the convention Franklin proposed that the national executive be paid no salary. Madison records that

No debate ensued, and the proposition was postponed for the consideration of the members. It was treated with great respect, but rather for the author of it, than for any apparent conviction of its expediency or practicability.

And again when he proposed that the daily sessions be opened with prayers, to which Randolph sought to add a sermon to be preached on July 4, nothing was done. This time Madison wrote, "After several unsuccessful attempts for silently postponing the matter by adjourning, the adjournment was at length carried, without any vote on the motion."³ Although Franklin was respected and revered, his constructive influence in the convention was small. His

³ James Madison, *Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787*, printed in Max Farrand, editor, *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, Vol. I, p. 452.

greatest service was as a harmonizer and conciliator. Far-
rand mentions him twelfth in his list of convention
leaders.

If the influences of Washington and Franklin have been over-rated, the part played by Hamilton in the convention has been so exaggerated as to make one suspicious of the motives back of the extraordinary claims made for him. The fact is that Hamilton's constructive influence in the convention was so small as to be negligible. There are about 45 references made to Hamilton in Madison's *Notes*. He made 24 speeches, ranking about 21 in this activity. He made only three motions, all of which were lost. Of five motions seconded by him, three were carried. Hamilton received two committee appointments, one early in the convention and one very late. The last appointment was to the important Committee on Style and Arrangement, made two days after Hamilton's return to the convention. The appointment was a distinct honor but was not made in return for services rendered, but rather because of the return of the prodigal and errant son. A study of twenty of the chief propositions favored by Hamilton shows that seven were adopted by the convention and thirteen rejected. Practically none of the seven adopted was original with Hamilton.

Hamilton's constructive influence was so small because he was present only 36 out of 86 working days of the convention, because he was not active when present, because he was never in harmony with the other two delegates from New York, and because he was not in sympathy with the course events were taking in the convention. His plan for a constitution, practically proposing an elective monarchy, was the only plan submitted which received absolutely no attention. Although he returned to the convention for the last twelve days, he could not vote because a quorum was not present from his state. He had no right

to sign the Constitution except as an individual. His state did not vote to adopt the Constitution because it had no quorum present. Later Hamilton rendered splendid services in the New York ratifying convention, in helping to write the *Federalist Essays*, and in Washington's administration, but his contribution in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 was nil.

Another man whose influence in the convention has been magnified out of all proportion is Robert Morris. Because he went to the meeting with a great reputation as the "Financier of the Revolution" and was, perhaps, the wealthiest man in the country, it is assumed that he had a great influence. The facts do not bear out the assumption. He was one of the least active of the members. His contribution consists of nominating Washington as chairman and in seconding two motions which were promptly defeated. He never made a speech on a question being debated, never made a motion. Any influence which he may have had before and after sessions is intangible and impossible to measure. Certainly he did nothing constructive in framing the Constitution. Why then is he listed by so many writers and speakers as a leader?

The most useful man and the greatest constructive force in the convention was James Madison. While all real authorities on the convention are aware of Madison's great contribution, yet he has not received the *general* recognition which he deserves. The reason is not hard to discover. When in Washington's administration Madison parted company with Hamilton and threw in his lot with the common people in favor of democracy, all the forces of privilege united to write him down. And they are still doing it.

Madison had more to do with the trade conventions out of which the Constitutional Convention grew than any other man. He was one of the two men who persuaded

Washington to attend. In preparing for the convention, he made a study of ancient confederacies, a study which enabled him to speak with authority on federalism. Madison was the author of the Virginia Plan out of which the Constitution grew. He never missed a day of the convention and was one of its most active members. He made 53 motions, more than any other member, and seconded 23 others. About 60 per cent of his motions made and seconded were carried. He received four committee appointments, a number exceeded by only three members. Madison made 163 speeches, ranking third in this activity, in spite of his laborious note-taking on the debates of all the members. An analysis of his speeches and motions shows that of the propositions which he favored an unusually large percentage were adopted, while of those which he opposed about the same percentage were defeated.

Of all the members Madison had the best knowledge of history and government. He had the clearest vision of the type of government which had any possibility of being adopted. He was the first to advocate the mixed system government—partly national, partly federal, which was finally agreed to. By practically the unanimous consent of his colleagues, Madison was acclaimed as the most constructive force in the convention, a position which won for him the title of "Father of the Constitution."

While a member of the convention, Madison took notes on the debates, a record which remains today our most valuable source on the work of that body. After the convention he became co-author of the *Federalist Essays*. In the Virginia ratifying convention, he led the fight for the adoption of the Constitution, defeating the opposition led by the eloquent Patrick Henry. In Washington's first term, Madison served as administration leader on the floor of the House, consulted by everyone, especially by Washington, for nearly six months before Hamilton be-

came Secretary of the Treasury. In the House, Madison was more largely responsible than any other man for the adoption of the first ten amendments—our national Bill of Rights. In a very actual sense, Madison was, not only the father of the Constitution, but also of the Bill of Rights.

Second only to Madison as students of history and government and as constructive forces in the convention were James Wilson and Gouverneur Morris. Both were very active and very efficient. They were the only two men who made more speeches than Madison. Wilson rendered superior service on the Committee of Detail; Morris, on the Committee of Style. Space forbids the treatment that both men deserve.

Next to Madison, Wilson, and Gouverneur Morris there must be ranked, because of their activity and contributions, Sherman, Gerry, and Charles Pinckney. Judged by the same standards of activity and accomplishments, only a short distance behind the six men just named must come Mason, Williamson, King, Randolph, Rutledge, and Ellsworth. These twelve men make up the leaders of the first class. Washington and Franklin, for reasons already explained, fall into the second class. Robert Morris and Hamilton must take their places in the third class, made up of men who were almost inactive or who contributed little or both.

SOCIAL RESEARCH ACTIVITIES IN URBAN AND MUNICIPAL COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

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IN RECENT years emphasis is being placed on social research. Research in practical problems is largely supplanting the old reformatory attitudes, and "applied" sociology is taking on a more scientific aspect. Since the depression, the federal government has entered the field of social research, but much of the work fails to reach ultimate completion and the extent of being really useful in establishing valid social laws and generalizations. The social research of the state colleges and universities is generally confined to rural problems or to the work of graduate students securing data for masters' theses and doctors' dissertations. The bulk of the direct social research seems to fall upon the municipal and urban universities. They are in the midst of over-grown population centers representing all sorts of maladjustments. The opportunities for research and the obtaining of data are numerous. The urban center relies more definitely upon the educational institution of higher learning in its midst for aid in understanding and coping with its many intricate problems. Therefore, the institution of this nature has a greater opportunity and also a responsibility for scientific research.

This brief survey represents the result of an analysis of the social research activities of 29 colleges and universities located in urban centers but not dependent upon local taxation for their financial support, and 6 municipal universities which are municipally tax supported institutions. Of the 35 institutions, 54.3 per cent had definite research activities as a part of their regular programs. Seventeen

per cent of these schools had definitely organized functioning bureaus of social research. A large portion of the research work is being done by professors in the department of sociology, with the assistance of advanced students who aid in the collection of data as part of course assignments.

The type of research varied. The geographical location of the school has much to do with the research emphasis. The Negro schools are very much concerned with social problems concerning Negroes. Among the types of research now being pursued in these schools are studies of housing problems of the Negro, his church, his place in American civilization, his place as a consumer, his education in the American social order and race relations, advantages and disadvantages of being a free Negro, his economic status, the shadow of the plantation in his present life, the etiquette of slavery, Negro morality and mortality, the health of the Negro, political life, and the differences between rural and urban Negro life. These are vital questions that are pressing for answers. Modern scientific research should throw some light on such problems. There is a definite tendency to aid research work in conjunction with and as an aid to the local social agencies. Sociology departments are called upon to direct governmental projects in most of these institutions studied.

The other schools in the larger cities concerned themselves definitely with problems of delinquency, emphasizing the ecological aspect, city planning, housing, slums, crime in general and its relationship to environment, living conditions, transition areas, recreation and playgrounds, racial and social distance, gangs, health, population and leisure time, follow-up work of behavior problems, study of vital statistics gathered, such as those concerned with birth, death, and disease. These schools were also interested in such problems as real estate vacancies, tramway problems, local resources in art, and in the study of em-

ployment. Studies dealing with problems of the press and the family came in for strong emphasis. The administrative heads of practically every institution expressed their interest in social research and in having more definite work done along this line.

It is interesting to note the general interest in teaching sociology as a laboratory subject especially to advanced students. It has been the theory of the writer that sociology students should be trained in the technique of research and should do a definite amount of practical work under the direction of skilled directors. Students should have an opportunity to study society at first hand, and to know more about the community in which they live. Many of these institutions studied provide special rooms and well-equipped statistical laboratory equipment for use by these students. A real, worth-while service can thus be rendered the city in which the school is located.

Some schools conducted the research work in combined fields of two or more of the social sciences. Others with schools of social work confined their research activities to problems of special interest to social workers. About one fourth of the institutions reported that various professors serve as directors of special research, or in an advisory capacity for various social and civic organizations of the city. Municipal universities seem to be most active in preparing base maps, portraying objectively various social data concerning social conditions in these urban centers, and they emphasize the fact that such data are offered free to individuals and organizations of the city. In a few cases, departments of sociology in urban universities not dependent upon local taxation make specific charges for this research work.

The larger schools are greatly interested and concerned with ecological areas, prison systems, attitudes of the press and the general public, social statistics in definite places,

studies in ethnology, local and national industrial problems, unemployment, problems and procedure dealing with predelinquent children cases, and problems concerned with all kinds of clinics. Others are interested in family welfare associations, vital statistics, institutions and occupations, and analytical studies of problem children.

A few of the highly organized schools that have large, competent staffs of workers, spent much of their time on subjects confined principally to a small phase of a very large problem. For example, a very detailed and successful project was made out of the question, What is happening to boys between the ages of 14 and 16 who are no longer attending school? Another, What are the definite trends in juvenile delinquency between the ages of 16 and 20? Extended lists of projects¹ ranging from term papers in regular sociology classes, in seminars, and as theses, to manuscripts for books, indicate the wide range and the general trend of subject matter treated. These also indicate the degree of thoroughness and completeness encouraged by each institution.

The assimilation of immigrants and population problems become important research projects in cities striving to assimilate large numbers of other populations. Projects dealing with some phase of urban crime led the list. The use of leisure time and various aspects of dependency came next.

The trends of modern research are certainly along practical lines. The civilization of today is becoming more and more conscious of our needs, our shortcomings, desires, and problems. These data reported by the 35 universities and colleges give us a cross section of the social research interests and indicate very definite trends in the field of social research. Apparently the research activities of all

¹ Schools whose research was confined to term papers, research in seminars, and theses were not counted in the tabulations of this study.

universities located in denser populated areas are expanding their social research activities, and the near future will show a decided trend toward analysis of local social problems to be followed with definite programs of scientific social planning.

RACIAL DISTANCE REACTIONS

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IN THE fall semester, 1935, a study on social distance was conducted by 194 students of the five sociology classes of Dr. Herbert B. Alexander of Los Angeles Junior College. Two hundred sixty-nine persons were interviewed. A list of races and nationalities was presented to the person to be interviewed, with directions to rank the groups included in the order that he would prefer them as neighbors and to give the reason for his ranking as well as the characteristics of that group coming to the ranker's mind. Races and nationalities included in the list forming the study were Negro, Japanese, Filipino, Jewish, Mexican, Italian, Armenian, Irish, German, Swedish. The 269 persons interviewed were overwhelmingly native white Americans of Christian faith, Republican or Democrat in politics, middle class, workers or students.

The racial and national groups were ranked by the 269 interviewees in preference as follows:

TABLE I
RACIAL DISTANCE SCORES

<i>Group</i>	<i>Score</i>
Irish	2.3
German	2.8
Swedish	2.8
Jewish	4.7
Italian	4.8
Armenian	6.2
Japanese	6.7
Mexican	6.8
Filipino	8.1
Negro	8.1

The Irish were ranked highest. Sixty-one per cent of those interviewed gave favorable opinions of the Irish. Of

the remaining cases, .4 per cent gave unfavorable responses, and 34 per cent gave no indication. The Irish were accredited with joviality (25 times), carefreeness (19 times), friendliness (19 times), good nature (16 times), congeniality (15 times), wit (14 times). Only twenty expressed antipathy, based on volatility (15 times), and quarrelsomeness (5 times).

German and Swedish were given the same score of 2.8. The Germans received favorable responses, 52 per cent; unfavorable, 1 per cent; no indication, 34 per cent; from the 269 interviewees. The Swedes received favorable responses from 50 per cent, unfavorable from 5 per cent, and no indication from 44 per cent of the total. Interesting variations in the frequency of certain responses occurred as indicated in the following table:

TABLE II
NUMBERS OF RACIAL CHARACTERISTIC REACTIONS

<i>Characteristic</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Swedish</i>
cleanliness	32	40
intelligence	25	6
stolidity	11	11
stubbornness	13	1
hard workers	15	8
no reason	27	20
Nordic, white	24	11

Unfavorable responses to these also exhibited variations. Germany's political and social regime was censured by six persons. Three admitted an intense dislike for the Germans. Adverse comment against the Swedes centered primarily on the proposition that they were "thick." This rather vague feeling was crystallized in the statement: "They are too cold blooded—they don't seem intelligent."

Beginning with the fourth group a distinct change in attitude becomes apparent. There was a marked increase in unfavorable responses and the appearance of an entirely different scale of characteristics.

The Jewish were ranked in fourth place with a score of 4.7. Responses of the 269 judges showed 28 per cent favorable, 33 per cent unfavorable, and 31 per cent gave no indication. Of the 269 entries, favorable responses centered on two characteristics: business ability (21 times), and friendliness (12 times). Aversion to the Jews was based on shrewdness (36 times), loudness (35 times), and dirty (12 times). For the first time the problem of unpleasant personal appearance was encountered, also the reversal from "clean" for the first three groups to "dirty" for the Jew. Opposition on the basis of specific political and religious differentiation was expressed.

The Italians were ranked in fifth place with a favorable 39 per cent, an unfavorable 24 per cent, and no indication from 63 per cent. With this group enters for the first time another new characteristic: low standard of living (8 times). Unique to the Italians were the cultural achievements of art (12 times), and music (11 times). Another favorable response occurring frequently was based on friendliness (16 times). The Italians were condemned for being loud (17 times), volatile (16 times), and dirty (14 times). Thirty-one gave no reason for the position which they assigned the group in the rank scale.

The greatest paucity of response occurred in relation to the Armenians who were ranked sixth, due chiefly to the fact that many of the persons interviewed were unacquainted with the group. Twenty per cent gave favorable responses to the Armenian people, 26 per cent unfavorable responses, and 53 per cent gave no indication. Added to the forty-four who were unacquainted were thirty who gave no reason for placing the Armenians as they did. Of those who mentioned any characteristics, the most frequent were dirty (12 times), and loud (9 times). Several of the 269 entries commented that they thought the Armenians were very similar to the Italians. Only two persons specified the Armenians as white.

Less unfavorable comment was encountered in relation to the Japanese, who were ranked seventh, than might be expected on the Pacific coast. Percentage rankings revealed a favorable 27 per cent, an unfavorable 29 per cent, no indication, 41 per cent. Although the Japanese were ranked lower than the Armenians in score, a greater percentage gave favorable responses. Apparently this was due to the fact that physical differences are less between the white American and the Armenian than between the American and the Japanese, and therefore the former were ranked higher, although more favorable characteristics were named in relation to the Japanese group. Fifteen persons regarded the Japanese with disfavor because they were "different from us," and sixteen said bluntly that color was an impassable barrier. Twenty-one persons feared them as treacherous or sneaky. Favorable comment balanced these adverse observations: cleanliness (28 times), intelligence (23 times), quietness (16 times), industry (15 times), ability to mind own business (11 times). Thirty-one persons gave no reason for ranking the Japanese as they did.

The most pronounced agreement on any one response was accorded the Mexicans, ranked eighth, with the comment, dirty (78 times). Percentage responses showed favorable, 1 per cent; unfavorable, 47 per cent; and no indication, 41 per cent. Very few named any favorable characteristic about the California Mexican; several differentiated, however, between the "high class" Mexican and the "low class" Mexican. Reactions centered on such characteristics as backward (38 times), lazy (23 times), prolific (13 times), slovenly (11 times), and low standard of living (10 times). One person thoughtfully responded that the Mexicans "would be better if aided"; another said in disgust, "All they are good for is fiestas and siestas." The Negro and Filipino were ranked next with an identical score of 8.1. Percentage rankings for the Negro were favor-

able, 1 per cent; unfavorable, 47 per cent; and no indication, 38 per cent. For the Filipino percentage rankings were favorable, .08 per cent; unfavorable, 50 per cent; and no indication, 40 per cent. There was some variation in the specific comments made on the two groups:

TABLE III
NUMBERS OF RACIAL GROUP REACTIONS

<i>Characteristic</i>	<i>Negro</i>	<i>Filipino</i>
backward	24	13
hated intensely	11	19
sneaky, treacherous	5	25
color	33	13
social prejudice	15	8
unpleasant personal appearance	4	21
clean	6	11

Singularly enough, a great number of entries considered the Negro's color to be a barrier while comparatively few indicated the Filipino's color as a demerit. Very pronounced reaction was accorded the Filipinos on three important criteria: morally lax (particularly in relation to white women—19 times), presumptuous (15 times), and dress (20 times—favorable 4, unfavorable 16). One person created a startling problem in genetics by stating, "There are only men."

The above list of ten racial and national groups, judged by the persons interviewed, fell into four distinct levels. The general uniformity of favorable responses for the definite Nordics (Irish, German, Swedish) composed the first level. There was a precipitous fall from the overwhelming preponderance of favorable answers to the Jews and the Italians who formed the second group. Then the next three groups (Armenian, Japanese, Mexican) composed the following level of responses with a still greater prevalence of unfavorable characteristics mentioned. The lowest two (Filipino and Negro) were the farthest in social distance from the average person interviewed. The extent

of social distance and of racial antagonism, as revealed in the responses of these 269 persons interviewed, varied but imperceptibly with differences in creed, in political affiliation, in extent of education. If the study may be considered a representative indication of the existence and of the character of race prejudice, it shows what conceptions and misconceptions the average citizen possesses. It shows how non-Nordic races suffer from racial antagonisms both just and unjust. It also indicates at what points the leaders among some of these races must labor in order to make their races less subject to unfavorable reactions.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN THE PHILIPPINES

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On November 15, 1936, the new Commonwealth of the Philippines completed the first year of its history. On the whole it has been a successful year and its leaders are to be congratulated. The first year, however, has not been without its problems, and national policies have been developed in the light of these difficulties.

1. The socio-economic problem has been outstanding. Independence is being secured at the price of a prohibition to be placed by the United States on sugar, the chief export of the Islands. The employment and social welfare of about 2,000,000 people, or of one seventh of the total population of the Islands, will be directly and seriously affected. The tariff to be imposed beginning four years from now and reaching its peak in nine years will just about destroy the leading industry of the Islands unless something can be done about it. Moreover, the present quota restrictions on sugar that may be shipped to the United States have cut the export of sugar about 35 per cent.

Filipino leaders have begun to work out several solutions. First, they are thinking in terms of diversification. Can they develop farming industries so that the Philippines will be less dependent than now on one major industry? They think so, and are giving considerations to the production of rubber, bananas, camphor, and so on. These are products which are used in the United States but not produced there and could be shipped in duty free. Many of these items, however, are already being produced elsewhere by low-priced labor, and hence the competition would be stiff. Moreover, the process of getting sugar plan-

tation people to change to something else and to experiment with uncertainties as long as they can still sell their sugar even at a slight profit is a difficult one. It took them two decades to develop the sugar industry and they will not readily change.

Second, it is hoped that reciprocity treaties can be made with the United States whereby in return for certain advantages the United States will lower the tariff duty on sugar and thus save the industry. Whether the United States some years from now will lower its tariff on Philippine sugar so that it can compete successfully in the United States with Cuban sugar depends on many factors. The chances are slim that politicians and Cuban sugar interests in the United States will do what the Filipinos need to have done in order to save the Republic.

With a declining income from such a large industry as sugar and with increasing national expenditures, with tariff walls being erected against Philippine products and with diversification proceeding slowly, the welfare of the Islands is seriously at stake. Filipino leaders are fully aware of the danger and are working toward a solution.

2. Japan is a problem to the new Commonwealth. It is unfortunate for the Philippines that their new republic should be launched at the time when Japan is directing a program of economic and military advance beyond her own borders. The Philippines fear, first, the economic penetration of the Islands and, second, military occupation by Japan. From the man on the street to the leaders this apprehension is growing. On certain streets of Manila, Japanese merchants are supplementing even the thrifty Chinese, not to mention the Filipinos. Although the Japanese migration, particularly to Davao on the Island of Mindanao, has been checked, the economic penetration is reported to be steadily increasing, and the Filipinos do not know what to do about it.

That the Filipinos are worried about being swallowed up by Japan is evidenced by the fact that they have entered upon a program of training a total fighting force of 1,250,000 and that their new Constitution provides for adult education which, among other things, includes training in the use of arms for all adults. The employment of General Douglas McArthur to direct the defense program of the Islands is also significant. Whenever national defense is mentioned, Japan always comes into the picture. Her possible aggression is the only danger that Filipinos fear as far as other nations are concerned. Filipino leaders admit that an army of 500,000 would not stop a powerful enemy, but that it would make the conquest of the Islands more costly than the Islands would be worth to another nation. Although Japan disclaims any designs on the Islands, such assurances do not allay the fears of the Filipinos.

3. Radicalism is strong on the Islands, and communism is well organized, although its membership is not large. Insurrections occur here and there that display unusual virility. Plots against the government are now and then discovered. The *Sakdalistas* came before the public for the first time in 1934 when they elected a governor and two members to the National Assembly. They are not communists as such but their membership overlaps with that of the communistic groups. They were organized in 1931 by their present aggressive leader, Benigno Ramos. In May, 1935, their plot to overthrow the government was discovered and 100 of them were killed before the Island Constabulary could restore order. Again, in October, 1936, Sakdal activities of a violent nature broke out.

The reasons for the rise of the Sakdalists and communists are to be found in unemployment in the cities, in urban social disorganization, and in an unjust land situa-

tion. In fact the problems of the *tao*, or rural laborer, represent a festering sore.¹

4. The *tao* and the land problem have not received the attention that they deserve. The social scale is too elongated. At the top are the *hacienda* or plantation owners. At the bottom are the laborers on the plantations, many of whom are virtually serfs. The *cacique* or hacienda owner is partly Spanish; he looks down upon the native Malayan types of Filipinos. Many *taos* are kept in debt continually and not allowed to free themselves from the grip of the system.

Here is the case of the Mexican hacienda and the peon all over again. Finally, by revolution the Mexican peon escaped and the lands of the haciendado were "confiscated," but only after long years of bloodshed. Will the Philippines avoid this dire calamity? The answer depends upon the leaders!

Some of the *taos* are already joining with the unemployed in Manila, Cebu, and other urban centers to further communism, and to advocate violence as the only method in which they see any hope. How much of a stranglehold do the large plantation owners have upon the government leaders, is a question that is being asked in the Islands. Perhaps considerable in some of the provinces, but the government leaders may be able to rise to the needs and introduce the necessary reforms before the philosophy of violence dominates the situation.

5. Diversity of race in the Islands is very great. First, there are the primitive peoples, like the Negritos, or little Negroes, the Igorots, Bantocs, and others who have been driven to the mountain fastnesses. Second, there are the Moros, totaling 750,000, Mohammedans, darker-skinned than the Filipinos proper, scarcely considering themselves Filipinos. These are the people whom the United States

¹ While the present government leaders are perplexed and annoyed by the radical movement, President Quezon shows special ability in dealing with it. He understands the social psychology of it.

did not subdue until 1915, or seventeen years after taking charge of the rest of the Islands.

Third, there are the thirty or more racial groups, speaking as many different dialects, who are of Malayan origin. The Tagalogs live in and about Manila and number one and three-fourths millions. The Ilocanos, found on Ilocos Coast in northwest Luzon, exceed a million. The Visayans are the most numerous. The five or six millions of them reside on the middle group of Islands between Luzon and Mindanao. There are other dialect groups, who are separated in language and otherwise from each other and from those already mentioned.

Fourth, there are the Chinese, Japanese, and other Orientals. The Chinese-Filipinos number 200,000 or so, and are becoming Island leaders. The Japanese bring their wives, intermarriages are few; their cultural traits change slowly. The Japanese may be estimated at 30,000.²

Fifth, there are the Spanish and Americans. The former gave the Islands their religion and a language, and the latter, their system of government, educational system, sanitation measures, and so on.

This recital shows what divergent races occupy the Islands. The cultural backgrounds are manifold, and the processes of intermarriage and acculturation have a long way to go before a unified race biologically or culturally can be said to exist on the Islands.

6. The foregoing section suggests another problem, namely, the language divisions on the Islands. Over forty main dialects are found there with natural barriers thus being set up which separate those who speak one dialect from all the other groups. Spanish is spoken by a small minority. English is spoken by possibly a million, or one fourteenth of the total population.

It is not yet determined which dialect or language will become the dominant one. The real contest will come be-

² A large colony resides at Davao on Mindanao.

tween English and one of the major dialects. While English has a lead today, the retirement of the government of the United States from political control may decrease the emphasis on it. Moreover, the new Constitution of the Island states that the National Assembly, "shall take steps toward the development and adoption of a common national language based on one of the existing native languages."³

7. One more problem may be mentioned, namely, leadership. At present the Islands are fortunate in their leadership. It is difficult to think of two leaders who jointly can serve the Islands better than can President Quezon and Vice-President Osmeña.⁴ How much better it is for the Islands that these two able men are working together in behalf of the new Commonwealth than to have them fighting each other as the respective heads of two political parties.

Moreover, there is a number of other able Filipino leaders. Interest in politics and government and in the legal profession is high today, too much so, perhaps, for it is drawing promising young men away from the other professions and from business, leaving some of these fields handicapped.

The future of the Commonwealth depends upon its leadership. Can the present level be maintained? If so, the possibilities of carving out a noteworthy nation are good, despite the dangers that threaten the Republic both from within and from without. Whether the Philippines acquire complete independence in 1946 or sooner, their salvation depends on the acumen displayed by their leaders.

³ Article XIII, Section 3. It may be added that the Constitution adds: "Until otherwise provided by law, English and Spanish shall continue as official languages." In Section 10 of the same Article this statement is found: "This Constitution shall be officially promulgated in English and Spanish, but in case of conflict the English text shall prevail."

⁴ Of Quezon it has been said that "as a public speaker he has no peer," and of Osmeña he "personifies all that is best in Philippine politics, history, and life." George A. Malcolm, *The Commonwealth of the Philippines* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936), p. 392 and p. 176.

SHALL ALIEN ARTISTS BE ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES?

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THE question as to whether alien artists shall be admitted to the United States has been brought before the public's attention by means of numerous press reports and comments on the proposed Dickstein Bill. The first proposal for such a bill was made in June, 1936, by Representative John H. Hoeppel, of California, when he introduced a bill into Congress "to protect the artistic and earning opportunities of American Musicians." The Hoeppel measure, under the guise of Americanism, died inauspiciously, drawing very little attention from the American public.

In the next session of Congress Representative Samuel Dickstein, of New York, the Chairman of the House Immigration Committee, submitted a second bill "to protect the artistic and earning opportunities of American actors, singers, solo dancers, solo instrumentalists, orchestral conductors, and for other purposes." The scope of the bill had been widened to include every type of performing artist—actor, musician, dancer—and *for other purposes*. Still the American public, even the artist public, paid little attention to the bill. Mr. Dickstein saw his bill approved in committee by a 20-1 vote, but it died in the Senate.

On February 17, 1937, the bill was reintroduced for the third time and favorable action appeared imminent. Artists' bureaus, concert organizations, opera companies, orchestra managers, and "the movies," finally awakening to the meaning and import of the bill, began to take action. Committees, representing actors' and musicians' organiza-

tions, and famous artists of the stage and screen converged in Washington to support or deprecate the Dickstein Bill.

Other important phases of the bill are:

No aliens in these artistic professions shall be admitted to the United States, for either temporary or permanent residence, unless prior to the issuance of the visa, the Secretary of Labor has received an application from such artists for permission to enter this country for professional engagements, and such permission has been granted prior to his or her departure from foreign territory. The number of these admissible alien artists admitted during any calendar year shall be limited to the number of American artists of similar qualifications which the governments of such foreign countries have granted permission to enter such lands for professional engagements during the same calendar year. The Secretary of Labor is not to admit any foreign artist in the event that a non-immigrant has similar qualifications, and, by the entry of such foreign artist, would be displaced, or prevented from securing employment.

The organizations and arguments for the bill are these:

1. "The fundamental issues it (the bill) has in view are sound and timely. The United States protects its agriculture, commercial products, patents, labor, industries, and the like. Why then should not the same help be extended to its musical interests?"¹

2. Representative Dickstein confesses that his bill was designed with an eye to reciprocity. "England, Germany, France, Italy, and all the main countries absolutely bar our artists from performing. Under the terms of my bill, it would be a two-way proposition."²

3. Some American artists are seemingly in favor of the bill. "We are not attempting to keep out reputable foreign artists. On the contrary, we are trying to restrict the number of mediocre foreign artists who come over here and absorb work for which we have Americans just as competent. This bill shuts no doors to foreign artists who have

¹ *Musical Courier*, February 27, 1937.

² *Literary Digest*, February 6, 1937.

something unique to offer. It does direct the Secretary of Labor to seek the co-operation of artists' organizations in determining who these people are."³

4. One of the purposes of the bill is to prevent the bringing into this country annually of thousands of persons under contract as artists, who are later released to make their way as best they can and in some cases become public charges. The bill is also designed as an answer to foreign immigration legislation allegedly discriminating against our artists.⁴

5. The American Guild of Musical Artists is supporting the bill, but with the following modifications: the statement of the purpose must be changed from protecting artistic and earning opportunities to "securing for Americans abroad the same generous treatment accorded foreigners in this country"; a board must be set up to hear any instances of antagonistic discriminations of Americans abroad; section 2, concerning the quota of foreign artists and the Secretary of Labor's ultimate power of decision, must be dropped. "Freedom rather than reciprocity" is their cry.⁵

6. The Lambs Club, famous New York actors' society, favors the adoption of the bill as it stands.

7. Senator Richard Russell, new head of the Senate Immigration Committee, has expressed himself in favor of the bill. He cannot see, he asserts, what objections the opponents of the bill (whose arguments he had not heard) might have. Sources close to the President have indicated that he will sign the bill if it is passed.⁶

The organizations and arguments against the bill are these:

³ Charles Hackett, Manager of the Metropolitan Opera Co., *Literary Digest*, February 6, 1937.

⁴ *Musical Courier*, February 27, 1937.

⁵ *News-Week*, February 27, 1937, Volume 9, No. 9.

⁶ *Literary Digest*, February 6, 1937.

1. The Concerts Association of America, made up of the nation's leading concert-giving organizations and individual concert managers, organized on January 4, 1937, adopted a resolution unanimously opposing a reintroduction of the Dickstein Bill in the next Congress. The resolution follows: "Whereas, the Concerts Association of America affirms its faith in the musical resources of this country, and believes the whole American public is entitled to hear great musical artists irrespective of nationality, and affirms the ability of this nation to keep its doors open to foreign musicians with benefit to its own musical life and artists, and condemns the chauvinism and government interference of the arts in other countries.

"Resolved, that this association is unalterably opposed to any legislation calculated to impair the present standards of musical life by restricting the entrance of foreign artists to this country."⁷

The Concerts Association of America represents approximately ten million concert-goers.

2. Hollywood and the film industry declare the passage of such a bill would materially lessen the possibility of the industry continuing to make the best pictures. Said Joseph H. Seidelman, general foreign manager of Columbia Pictures Corporation, "Passage of the bill would be a very disastrous blow to the prosperity, success, and prestige of American pictures. I would even go so far as to say it would bring the United States government into ridicule and contempt in the eyes of many foreign nations."⁸

Samuel Goldwyn, pioneer motion-picture producer, states, "The advent of foreign talent into Hollywood has been one of the biggest boons toward building up the American film industry. We must not forget that American motion pictures have great markets in every other part of the world. The reason for this is that foreign stars in

⁷ *New York Times*, January 5, 1937.

⁸ *Hollywood Citizen-News*, February 18, 1937.

American pictures offer the necessary appeal in foreign countries. It is serious enough that the American film industry must fight the rest of the entire world to maintain its position, but if we have to fight our own government, too, it looks like a pretty hopeless task."⁹

3. Even Frank Gilmore of the Actors' Equity Association, who favors the principle of the bill, suggests that the bill as it now stands is so drastic that if Paderewski wanted to come here in 1939 to visit the World's Fair in New York he would not be able to obtain a visitor's visa.¹⁰

The social implications of this problem are many. Those of the public giving the Dickstein Bill due consideration will answer such questions as:

1. Does the Dickstein Bill uphold the standards of democracy?

2. Will such a bill tend to lessen a friendly international and interracial feeling?

3. Who are Americans? Are we not made up of every nationality?

4. Is a free exchange of artists one of the greatest agencies in bringing about mutual understanding between nations?

5. Must we bar artists of other nations from our country because we are barred from theirs? Is such a retaliative spirit really helpful in encouraging reciprocity?

"Art is a universal language. It fosters better understanding between peoples of every nation. It should know no international boundaries."¹¹

On April 7, 1937, the Dickstein Bill failed to secure enough votes in the House Naturalization and Immigration Committee to obtain a favorable report and was tabled indefinitely. How soon will the question come up again?

⁹ *Ibid.*, February 22, 1937.

¹⁰ *Hollywood Citizen-News*, February 18, 1937.

¹¹ Editorial, *Hollywood Citizen-News*, February 20, 1937.

International Notes

SOCIAL TRENDS IN EUROPE

A Geneva Correspondent

Any reference to the Europe of today must be prefaced by the observation that the present political situation cannot be measured by the norms of yesterday nor understood by the application of pre-war political and diplomatic principles. Europe is today dominated by political types that perhaps have never before been encountered by students of politics, and one does not get beneath the surface of the problem if one classifies them merely as dictatorships. They are something much more than that. They represent the expressions of whole peoples rather than the voices of isolated individuals. The political life of Europe is today dominated by states motivated by concepts which give political ideals the qualities of religions. Whole nations are impelled by ideas of "racial superiority," "imperial destiny," or "proletarian rights," to the point where they have become absolutely plastic material in the hands of leaders who have concrete plans and challenging programs to offer.

Anyone who has really felt the pulse of the Russia, the Italy, the Germany, and the Turkey of today has become conscious of the reality of this fact, as well as of the power of these mystically inspired peoples. The unanticipated is happening almost daily in the political life of the Europe of today because certain states are dominated by pseudo-religions rather than by political ideals with which we are familiar. And the day of surprises is by no means over. The dangers growing out of this situation are at least threefold. First, the maintenance of the present pitch within these states demands the setting forth of ever more challenging five-year programs, or promises of colonies or empires. Second, each of these systems is self-centered and exclusive, and carried to its logical conclusion it must eventually enter into conflict with systems making similar claims. Third, failure to maintain this almost fanatical enthusiasm will mean an internal collapse and a chaos which is certain to have serious international repercussions.

To undertake to trace the steps which led to these developments would mean going beyond the reasonable limits of a letter of this kind. Suffice it to say, therefore, that the fear and mental distress of people, who only yesterday were demanding unlimited freedom of

thought and action, may become such that they will call for and follow almost blindly a leader who will rescue them from the despair of uncertainty and lead them in some clearly defined way, regardless of the sacrifice the way may demand. Stated in another way, the thing we are today witnessing in certain parts of Europe as well as other parts of the world is a reaction against the nineteenth century liberalism which eliminated more and more standards of judgment and finally brought the individual to the place where he became frightened by the very freedom he had craved but to which he was incapable of giving meaning.

But what does all this have to do with the immediate situation? Is Europe on the verge of another great conflict? Theoretically such a struggle is not immediately imminent; actually it may break out at any moment. Theoretically, such a struggle should not be feared for the moment because the nations that might profit most by a reconstruction of the map of Europe will not be ready for war for another twelve or eighteen months; that there is feverish preparation on all sides no one any longer denies. The actuality of the situation is supplied by what is going on in Spain and no one can tell from one day to another to what ends the Spanish Civil War may lead Europe. Unfortunately, that struggle which had its origins in a conflict of very complex interests and issues is being oversimplified and made the occasion for building up a continent-wide alignment on the communist-Fascist issue. As these lines are being written, the Council of the League of Nations is dealing with the difficult problems of neutrality and mediation, but history shows that gun-running and the participation of private groups are almost impossible to control, hence one must assume that as long as the struggle continues there will be the danger of "incidents" which may lead to serious international complications.

In the light of present European trends it may perhaps be in place to suggest that the most helpful thing that those seriously interested in peace could do at present would be to remove communism and Fascism from the realm of propaganda and emotion through a frank setting forth of their real principles. There could be no greater tragedy than that the nations of Europe and other parts of the world should be drawn into bloody conflict over an issue that in reality does not exist, but that is precisely what may happen if propaganda is not replaced by a realistic study of facts.

While the leaders of communism and Fascism are bitterly opposed

to each other and while there are certain differences in ideology, communism and Fascism stand for practically identical social-economic systems, and the masses, who would be forced to carry the brunt of such a struggle, would in the end discover that they had been fighting for personalities and labels rather than for social principles. Briefly stated, both communism and Fascism put an end to the *laissez-faire* economy; both hold that the instruments of production must be operated for the common good; both control banking and international trade; both control the means of communications; both systems are, in practice, dictatorships; both maintain an absolute control of the press, the radio, the public platform, and the institutions of learning; both insist on the complete direction of the informal as well as the formal training of youth; both are determined to eliminate class conflict—the one seeks to attain this end by the “liquidation of all classes excepting the one in power,” while the other strives to attain this goal by interlocking the interests of the different groups through a series of corporations. There are of course certain differences between original Fascism and national socialism; and communism and Fascism are improvising and modifying many aspects of their programs as they proceed, but the main lines are fairly clearly indicated, and any careful student of their basic social-economic policies cannot but come to the conclusion that the differences do not justify either civil war or international conflict.

The actual facts of the situation would stand out a little more clearly if the real purpose lying back of the German-Japanese agreement were known. Just how this agreement is going to contribute to the suppression of communist agitation either in the East or in the West, it is difficult to understand. Some of the most thoughtful political observers are inclined, therefore, to see in it an agreement between two nations that are determined to expand regardless of existing agreements or accepted methods of procedure. In any case it is felt that national interest was a much larger factor in the making of the agreement than concern over differences between social or political philosophies. It is feared, therefore, that regardless of what happens in Spain, this agreement may spell difficulty for Central Europe within the next two years unless Great Britain and France take an unequivocal attitude and back up this attitude with a powerful display of force. This may not be a very hopeful picture of the European situation and it may not sound like a plea for disarmament, but as stated at the beginning of this letter,

we are living in a day dominated by forces which are entirely new in modern international life and the world may be forced to use strange methods to deal with these "new paganisms."

In spite of the severity with which Stalin has dealt with the Trotsky influence in the Communist party the attitude of the present Russian regime toward the question of world revolution continues to be problematical. Internationally speaking, both communism and Fascism are, therefore, exceedingly uncertain factors. Suffice it to say that it behooves the rest of the world to put its house in order. Only those countries in which social justice prevails and where there exists an informed general public can consider themselves beyond the influence of dictatorships and mass movements.

Social Psychology

APTITUDES AND APTITUDE TESTING. By WALTER V. D. BINGHAM. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937, pp. ix+390.

Starting with Warren's definition of aptitude as "a condition or set of characteristics regarded as symptomatic of an individual's ability to acquire with training (usually specified) knowledge, skill or set of responses such as the ability to speak a language, to produce music, etc.," and with the concept of talent as "a relatively high order of aptitude," the author proceeds "upon the facts of individual differences" to examine critically a wide range of psychological research literature on the subject of aptitudes. He examines the relationship of intelligence to aptitude, of interest to aptitude, of achievement and aptitude, and concludes that interest is "not only a symptom, it is the very essence, of aptitude." In Part II the author examines several of the major occupational fields, seeking out the aptitudes which are helpful in each. Part III is given over to a careful discussion of the procedures for testing aptitudes. In the Appendix are found "representative tests and interest schedules." The reviewer misses a treatment of the relation of aptitude to attitude, but finds the volume otherwise a handbook of real value. It should serve also as a stimulus to further research relative to the nature and importance of the role of aptitudes not only along occupational lines but in other vital phases of life as well.

E. S. B.

PERSONALITY. ITS DEVELOPMENT AND HYGIENE. By WINIFRED V. RICHMOND. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1937, pp. xvii+279.

One of the more desirable features of this lucid, synthetic study of personality is the attention which Dr. Richmond bestows upon the many sources available for the further study of personality. Wisely, she acknowledges in her preface that there is a wealth of material available in fiction and biography and, in her exercises for the student at the end of several of the chapters, presents problems involving the use of such materials. While none of the subject matter is startlingly original, her scheme of presentation is so designed as to offer the reader a rapid, and comprehensive view of the whole study of personality. Some may differ with the author, whose discussion is intended to show clearly the "real person" in distinction from the part he plays. She rightly claims that the real person hides behind the mask and that what we see is not what really is. But is it not true to state that we have many masks, and that one may never come anywhere near to knowing what the real person is, even the individual himself? Even in solitude, we may be wearing a mask. The morphology, the organs, the glandular reactions of the body, all working in interaction, are so complicated that behavior resulting may not be understood even by the self. Anything like a positivistic interpretation of personality and its behavior still awaits final solution. Dr. Richmond has presented, nevertheless, a very good summation of the best attempts made thus far to explain this fascinating but baffling subject of personality. M. J. V.

THE REFLECTION OF TEACHERS' ATTITUDES IN THE ATTITUDES OF THEIR PUPILS. By ARTHUR J. MANSKE. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University Press, 1936, pp. 67.

After covering the literature of the field represented by the subject, the author outlines his problems, explains the methods of research that were used, and describes the procedure. He gathered his data from the ninth grade classes in social studies and English in ten schools, eight public, one Catholic, and one Lutheran, located in seven states from Rhode Island to Oklahoma. A total of 312 girls and 349 boys were used for the experiments. For control purposes groups totaling 305 girls and 311 boys participated. The Negro prob-

lem constituted the subject matter of the class work involved in the experiment. Fourteen findings are offered. For example: "Most social science teachers of ninth grade classes, when teaching materials on the Negro problem, do not definitely indoctrinate pupils." "One sex is not more effective than the other" in the indoctrinating process. "Teachers who believe it is their duty to indoctrinate (as distinguished from teaching) tend to influence pupils to conform to their views." Regardless of the teachers' attitudes, the "actual consideration of the problem tends to move people toward liberalism." "Socio-economic status of pupils plays no role in mean gross change in attitudes relative to the Negro problem." If the schools are to be thought of as agencies for furthering needed social change, the teachers of today do not figure effectively in this direction. E. S. B.

Social Theory

PRINCIPLES AND LAWS OF SOCIOLOGY. By HAROLD A. PHELPS. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.; London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1936, pp. 544.

This book contains a broad survey of the principles and laws which have been presented by various writers and which form the basis of present-day sociological thought. The author defines current sociology as

the study of social relations from six different standpoints, namely, (1) their origins; (2) their reduction to basic units; (3) factors which cause them to combine and vary in numerous ways; (4) social processes; (5) the institutions and associations within which these changes take place; and (6) the tasks of social control.

Part I presents "The Scope of Sociology"; Part II, "The Logical Basis of Sociology"; Part III, "Sociological Laws and Principles"; and Part IV, "Current Generalizations and Developments." At the close of each chapter is given a list of supplemental readings and in the Appendix is a list of "contributors to the Science of Sociology."

The book is written in clear and readable English. Brief résumés of a variety of concepts, outlines, and diagrams emphasize the points in the analysis. The book is a scholarly and encyclopedic review of the entire sociological field.

B. A. McC.

PRACTICAL SOCIOLOGY. By **LESLIE D. ZELNY.** New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1936, pp. xxi+461.

Out of a wealth of concrete experience in introducing college students to sociology, Dr. Zeleny has specialized in a new type of textbook. He presents "stories of everyday life and everyday social processes," and then interprets these stories in terms of sociological concepts. The procedure is logical. The interest of the student is not only aroused but carried along into the field of sociological reasoning. Field studies are suggested at the end of each chapter so that the student may carry sociological thinking into an analysis of actual social situations. After the study of group life has been developed in this fashion, the author in Part II turns the students' attention upon the relation of group life to the development of personality. The stories have been selected with the major view of giving insight into the lives of people. No improvement upon them can be suggested unless it be that the simpler ones be omitted and that more stories involving complicated social situations and problems be added. The title of the book might be changed to Inductive Sociology or to Concrete Sociology in order to avoid some of the implications that the present title arouses despite the editor's warning to the contrary in his "Introduction." The book deserves to be used widely. E. S. B.

PARETO. By **FRANZ BORKENAU.** New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1936, pp. 219.

Within a convenient compass this is one of the most satisfactory treatments of Pareto available in English. The author views Pareto with both understanding and a critical eye. He finds three important contributions in Pareto, namely, the latter's theories of residues, derivations, and elites. He is relentless in pointing out the nonlogical phases of Pareto's thought, while at the same time he finds the bases for these anomalies in Pareto's backgrounds and experiences. Pareto is interpreted in terms both of his social environment and of his personal experiences. The author goes beyond Pareto and discusses politico-economic theories, such as Bolshevism and Fascism, in the light of Pareto's sociology. It is evident from this as well as from other studies that Pareto has been overestimated as a sociologist. E. S. B.

Culture and People

MIGRATION AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY. By CARTER GOODRICH and others. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936, pp. xvii+763.

This large book presents the excellent results of research made under the auspices of the Industrial Research Department of the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce into the general topic of the distribution of population. The more specific purpose of ascertaining what movements of population in the United States might be necessary and desirable, and if such movements should be encouraged and guided by governmental authority constitutes in reality the constructive elements of the research.

For the general reader the results and findings of the research will possibly attract major attention. Perhaps it may be valuable to point out here some major conclusions of the committee. Misplaced populations are a fact in the United States today. Great migrations away from the South and out of agriculture, along with reorganization of the economic system, are essential for general improvement in standard of living.

The committee on research has held that "the possibilities of effective economic organization are the greatest where the working force has the freest access to the more efficient means of production. Therefore, it is held that the long-run direction of movement must be toward the urban areas and their spreading peripheries." This would finally involve the necessity of providing more funds for unemployment insurance during the industrial slack periods and of stopping payments of production loans to farmers on lands slated for retirement. The encouragement of mobility with positive purpose and direction is advisable today in the United States, but without effective social-economic rearrangements mobility alone cannot bring about economic well-being. An appendix containing four divisions of useful information with respect to past migration analysis, wheat production in Kansas, location of manufactures, and a memorandum on the selection of manufacturing areas for the housing program conclude the comprehensive study.

M. J. V.

MIDDLETOWN IN TRANSITION. A Study in Cultural Conflicts. By R. S. LYND and HELEN M. LYND. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937, pp. 18+604.

Ten years after Middletown was studied in 1925, a second investigation was made. The interim includes four years of prosperity and six of depression. What have these ten years done to Middletown? This report follows the lines of the earlier inquiry and presents the data in terms of several major "persistent institutional functions," namely, getting a living, making a home and training the young, spending leisure, religion, the machinery of government, getting information, and keeping healthy. Additional chapters deal with "the Middletown spirit" and Middletown "faces both ways."

During the decade Middletown has grown from 36,500 to 50,000, and in some particulars has taken on large city ways. Otherwise the city has not changed much and its citizens have not learned much from either the years of prosperity or of depression. One family group tends to dominate the city, partly through its philanthropic and "public-spirited" activities. A tendency in Middletown to accept "continuing community responsibility for the unable" is noted. People held on to their automobiles tenaciously through the depression. Drinking liquor has increased considerably, while a literal belief in religion has diminished. Sundays are growing more secularized. New areas of "social wariness and defensiveness" have developed in Middletown. Wary cynicism as a philosophy of life is on the increase. Planning on a large scale is avoided and the people may be said to be walking "reluctantly backwards into the future." A good piece of work again has been done by the Lynds. May they make a return visit to Middletown in 1945. E. S. B.

THE HERITAGE OF THE CATHEDRAL. A Study of the Influence of History and Thought upon Cathedral Architecture. By SARTELL PRENTICE. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1936, pp. xxii+328.

The background of the cathedral in life and thought from early primitive man to the time of the Renaissance is here related in a most engaging and instructive manner. Whether Romanesque, Gothic, Royonnant, or flamboyant, the historical and cultural settings are stated in such a manner as to let the cathedral live and have meaning for even the layman. The author draws upon both history and

archaeology, but writes in terms that are neither technical nor difficult. The reader will gain new insight into the story of Europe by considering the relation of the cathedral and of architecture in general to social institutions and beliefs, with the wealth of symbolism involved in their expression in stone, glass, and other media of art. The book is the product of one who possesses rare sympathy for his subject, besides the scholarly training essential for its completion. The illustrations are many and choice.

J. E. N.

NURSERY SCHOOL AND PARENT EDUCATION IN SOVIET RUSSIA. By VERA FEDIAEVSKY and PATTY SMITH HILL. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1936, pp. 265.

This book gives an analytical survey of the education of young children in Russia and the reorganization of Soviet family life. Regardless of how one's political or economic conceptions of society may be at variance, it cannot be denied that in Soviet Russia babies and little children are considered worthy of the best the State can bestow upon them at any cost. The Russian philosophy of education from the cradle up, methods and objectives of crèches, equipment, duties of workers, daily schedules, health programs, research work in motherhood and infancy are discussed. Kindergarten and nursery school educators will find this book stimulating and inspiring.

E. S. N.

PEOPLE OF KANSAS. By CARROLL D. CLARK and ROY L. ROBERTS. Topeka, Kansas: A publication of the Kansas State Planning Board, 1936, pp. xiv+272.

Even though this scholarly study of the Kansas population will be primarily of interest to Kansans, students of American civilization will profit by reading it. The authors have taken into account the fundamental physiographic, economic, and demographic factors affecting the observed trends and tendencies in analyzing "the growth from frontier days to the present, the process of adjustment to the land, ecological shiftings and density gradients, interstate migrations, growth of urbanization, changes in age and sex composition, declining rate of natural increase, and changing marital condition." The book is well documented with statistical tables.

E. S. N.

THE PACIFIC AREA AND ITS PROBLEMS. A Study Guide. Edited by D. R. NUGENT and REGINALD BELL. New York: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1936, pp. 233.

Ten chapters cover the important Oriental areas bordering on the Pacific Ocean, such as Hawaii, Japan, Soviet Siberia, Manchukuo, China, Philippines, New Zealand, and Australia. Four chapters deal with special topics, namely, relations between China and Japan, migrations in the Pacific area, struggle for markets, and armaments in the Pacific. Each chapter follows a fourfold pattern: (1) a descriptive statement, (2) a historical outline, (3) a set of problems, and (4) reading references. The descriptive treatment is brief and general, but the outlines and the problems are detailed and well worked out. The book will prove useful for study groups.

E. S. B.

MIGRANT ASIA. By RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE. Rome: Tipografia I. Failli, 1936, pp. xlv+310.

In the Introduction by Corrado Gini the major thesis of *Migrant Asia* is reviewed and compared with the treatment of the same theme by Western authors. The main idea of the book is that Asiatic peoples are too hemmed in by antagonistic immigration laws of European and American nations. The author holds that these nations should let down the bars to Asiatic immigration. However, he does not take into account the slight likelihood that such a procedure will occur. The possibilities of relieving population pressure in Asiatic countries through educational and birth control measures are largely overlooked. The role of industrialization is likewise developed but slightly. Among the strong points of the book are the author's strictures against the economic imperialism of Western policies that are inflicted by Western nations upon the unsuspecting natives of Asia and Africa. Hope is expressed that international agreements will be effected to the end that the unequal distribution of population in the world will be corrected.

Industrial Relations

PROBLEMS IN LABOR RELATIONS. By HERMAN FELDMAN.
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937, pp. xxiii+353.

The sub-title of this new textbook on labor relations is given as "a case book presenting some major issues in the relations of labor, capital and government," and indicates the manner of presentation which has been chosen by Professor Feldman. Through the inclusion of nearly three hundred cases drawn from realistic situations, the text offers a challenging array of problems listed under five major headings, namely: (1) wages, wage methods, and wage administration; (2) hours, working conditions, and labor regulations; (3) old age, insecurity, and unemployment; (4) the personal environment; and, (5) group relations, unions, and labor law.

By virtue of the use of the case method, the author has been enabled to retreat from the position of conducting a didactic and expository series of lectures upon his materials, save as his selectivity may reveal whatever prejudices he may hold. This program, so far as the classroom is concerned, calls for the use of other explanatory texts for collateral reading. However, Professor Feldman has wisely seen fit to present situations which generally balance each other from the conservative and progressive points of view.

At the end of each case are placed questions intended to develop and stimulate independent thinking on the merits of the problems presented and, in many instances, requiring further thought on ultimate solutions for related cases. By stripping the cases down to all but the barest essentials, the author has been able to offer for consideration almost every important type of industrial problem colored with employer-employee relations. The book is worthy in every detail and should be welcomed by teachers looking for suggestive materials for lively class discussions.

OCCUPATIONAL-DISEASE LEGISLATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1936. By CHARLES F. SHARKEY. Washington: Bulletin No. 625, United States Department of Labor, 1937, pp. 58.

This bulletin is designed to call attention to the lack of occupational-disease legislation in the United States and to stimulate such. It

points out that only sixteen states provide any compensation at all in this regard. The thesis is: those who contract certain diseases as a result of work in certain occupations are entitled to compensation just as much as those who are injured by sudden accidents. The bulletin shows the development of occupational-disease legislation and outlines the existing laws in those states which have enacted such legislation.

P. M. B.

Social Welfare

PARTNERS IN PLAY, RECREATION FOR YOUNG MEN AND YOUNG WOMEN TOGETHER. By MARY J. BREEN. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1936, pp. 185.

This book is written primarily for recreation leaders of young people between the ages of 12 and 30, on playgrounds, in community centers, and in all places where young people can play together.

A sensible association between the sexes is essential to normal social life. Men and women meet in factories and offices, at dances and parties, in street and on street-cars. They build homes together and work and play together. As adults they are expected to get along with each other without difficulty or embarrassment. But few boys and girls receive adequate preparation for the normal social life between the sexes which is expected of them in later years.

Miss Breen discusses some aspects of effective leadership, groups and study clubs, and describes how to administer a recreation program for mixed groups, with parties and socials, hiking and outdoor programs, arts and crafts, and music and drama.

E. S. N.

REPORT OF THE MARYLAND COMMISSION ON PRISON LABOR. By ROBERT E. VINING, chairman. January, 1937, pp. 39.

The Commission proposes a system of prison labor to take the place of the contract system which is no longer in effect. It finds inmates "living in degenerating idleness" while the state pays. The report contains a brief historical sketch of work systems used in Maryland, a proposed program, and suggested legislation to put the program in operation.

P. M. B.

CONSUMERS' CO-OPERATIVE ADVENTURES. By H. J. RANDALL and C. J. DAGGETT. Whitewater, Wisconsin: Whitewater Press, 1936, pp. 642.

These "case studies" are exceedingly valuable. After an introductory part on co-operatives in Great Britain for a background, the authors present six parts dealing with as many kinds of co-operatives in the United States. These types and the numbers of each are: co-operative retail stores (5), co-operative retail oil companies (3), co-operative wholesale companies (3), co-operative educational organizations (3), credit unions (7), and other co-operatives (9). A brief factual statement about the history, development, and size of each is given. The result is impressive, and speaks well for the common man who has sought by evolutionary, co-operative, and peaceful means to meet the failures of capitalism. The co-operatives demonstrate effectively to the inquiring mind that it is possible to meet the economic needs of mankind without resort to a profit system, and, for the same reason, that men and women in the professions carry their heavy responsibilities on a nonprofit ideology. This volume is a handbook of useful reference for all who wish to inform themselves concerning the co-operatives in the United States.

E. S. B.

SOCIETY A Textbook of Sociology. By ROBERT M. MACIVER. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1937, pp. xii+596.

Professor MacIver's earlier work on *Sociology* now appears in a rewritten and enlarged form. Questions, exercises, and notes on further readings are appended in order to make the book more useful as a text. The point of view is the same as in the earlier work. Sociology is viewed as involving the "art of revelation" as well as "a science of analysis." Basic in this study are attitudes and interests; the latter are defined in the sense of values. Society is a system or structure of social relationships. A community is interpreted as a group occupying a territorial area and capable of meeting within itself all the human needs. An association is "a group organized for the pursuit of an interest or group of interests in common," while an institution is a system of controls which links people together, both past and present. Social evolution is an unfolding, while social progress "implies a selective process." The treatment of these and other themes is clearcut, analytical on a philosophical basis, and constructive.

E. S. B.

Personality Problems

PERSONALITY MALADJUSTMENT AND MENTAL HYGIENE. By J. E. WALLACE WALLIN. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1935, pp. xii+511.

Dr. Wallin has provided those interested in mental hygiene with a variety of case data, a technique for their interpretation and diagnosis, and many aids for treatment of personality maladjustments. It is of interest to note that while many of these maladjustments are reported to have their origin in, or to be closely associated with, psycho-neuroses, the remedial suggestions offered and the treatment advocated, for the most part, are those any competent and well-trained case worker can follow quite adequately.

Dr. Wallin lucidly and logically presents and illustrates "methods of solving personal difficulties," through dodging responsibility by evasion, minimizing difficulties, self-justification through shifting blame, procrastination, rationalization, day-dreaming, stage-fright, sex conflict, and many other such escapes.

The chapters on the theory of mental conflicts and on resolution of mental conflicts show the skill of an expert and the insight of a scientist. The whole volume indicates considerable industry and scholarship in research. It differs from other volumes in the mental hygiene field in the numerous concrete and detailed suggestions, in the variety of field cases, and in the scientific methods followed in the field research. The bibliography, though not annotated, should also prove useful to the reader. E. F. Y.

THE EXILE. By PEARL S. BUCK. New York: John Day and Reynal and Hitchcock, 1936, pp. 315.

FIGHTING ANGEL. By PEARL S. BUCK. New York: John Day and Reynal and Hitchcock, 1936, pp. 302.

These books present two pictures that dovetail into each other. Mrs. Buck has revealed important elements in the lives of her mother and father. The mother is seen as the wife of a missionary, but unappreciated by him because of his devotion to the Work to which he had been called. She remains devoted to her husband

but not a real part of his life or activities; she suffers greatly in the death of four of her children on foreign soil; she grows apart from her native country which she loves but in which there is no longer anyone who needs her. Her life in China has exiled her from her native land. The father is a single-minded scholar and religious evangelist who neglects his family but goes serenely on despite deaths in his family and failures in his work. He lives in prayer, not in his family. He becomes a fighting angel in behalf of the good as he sees the good.

These books are both interesting studies in social distance. In the one the mother experiences vital distance between herself and her husband and between herself and her native land. In the other the distance is expressed in the wide chasm between the father and his family, in fact, between him and all those who do not accept the Word that he preaches. The style of the books is pleasing and delicate situations are handled artfully.

E. S. B.

Rural Life

LANDLORD AND TENANT ON THE COTTON PLANTATION. By T. J. WOOFER, JR. Washington: Works Progress Administration, Research Monograph B, 1936, pp. xxxiii + 288.

Visitation of more than nine thousand tenant families found living on six hundred forty-six different cotton plantations of the south-east is the basis for the data represented by this detailed analysis of the present plantation system. Particular attention has been given to the landlord-tenant relationship, "as well as their mutual relation to and dependence on the plantation system." The report indicates some of the social effects resultant from cash crop farming at the expense of producing sufficient for home use, high interest rates, population pressure in the area, soil exhaustion, and low incomes.

P. M. B.

COUNTRY LIFE PROGRAMS. Proceedings of the Eighteenth American Country Life Conference. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936, pp. 131.

The major papers and a summary of student discussions of the

annual meeting of the American Country Life Association are presented in this small volume. The papers deal with the future of rural life, population movements, a balanced production program, farm income, rural health facilities, rural government, education, and a presentation of "My Philosophy of Rural Life" by C. J. Golpin, a veteran leader of rural life.

M. H. N.

Social Drama and Fiction Notes

THE WINGLESS VICTORY. A Drama in Three Acts. By MAXWELL ANDERSON. Washington, D.C.: Anderson House, 1936, pp. 133.

Though playwright Anderson marks the time of his tragic drama as around 1800, its social implications are still fresh and alive. The story of Oparre, Malay princess and carrier of noble hereditary traits, is somewhat reminiscent of the tale told by Joseph Hergesheimer in his novel, *Java Head*. It is the story of the clash of cultures, that of the East and that of the West. Several indictments are placed upon the culture of the West, namely, that of misunderstanding and misinterpreting its own religion, Christianity, that of being intolerant to other ways of doing, and that of narrow racial prejudices. The stern coldness, the granite-heartedness, and the solid resoluteness of the New England villagers is marked with much emphasis in the play.

Into the Salem of 1800 comes Oparre as the wife of Nathaniel McQueston and the mother of his two children. Nathaniel had left Salem years before in search of fortune and adventure. Wandering through the isles of the South Seas, his quest brings him face to face with death in the person of the Sultan of one of the Celebes. He is rescued, however, by the daughter of the Sultan, Oparre. Escaping together, they vow eternal love for each other. Nathaniel comes into possession of a Dutch ship laden with a rich cargo of spices, and with the fortune, brings his family back to Salem. Knowing that his own family is on the verge of poverty, he thinks that they will be only too glad to accept his riches as a purchase price for the acceptance of Oparre. He finds, however, that poverty has not improved the bigotry of his brother, the Reverend Phineas Mc-

Question. Phineas and the scheming justice of the township manage to show that the ship has been obtained unlawfully by Nathaniel, and threaten him with exposure and loss unless he sends his dark-skinned wife and children back to the South Seas.

Faced with his inability to get the townspeople to greet Oparre as his wife, and with the loss of his fortune, Nathaniel finally chooses to lose Oparre. This decision brings forth from Oparre a magnificent gesture of scorn and a tempestuous denunciation of the Christ for whom she had given up her native gods. To her white persecutors, she cries out in regal fury:

All these white frightened faces, come in and hear!
We have news for you. I have been misled
A long time by your Christ and his beggar's doctrine,
Written for beggars! Your beseeching pitiful Christ!
The old gods are best, the gods of blood and bronze,
And the arrows dipped in venom! You worship them too,

Moloch and Javeh of your Old Testament,
Requiring sacrifice of blood, revenging
All save their chosen. You vouchsafe no pity
To the alien, and I'll give none.

Turning upon Nathaniel, she hisses into his ears:

What could there be between us,
Between the eagle and the rat, save death?
And we've bred together—it sickens me—we've bred
And I've been brought to bed of you! Your rodent flesh on mine
In rodent ecstasy! I'll tear you out
From my breast, tear my breast down to bone and hard
Till that shame's gone from my people!

The tragic conclusion of the play comes when Oparre takes refuge on the ship with her children. Nathaniel, reconsidering, and stung by her lash, comes to cast in his lot with her. But the proud Oparre has taken poison. Racial antipathy once again has brought sorrow, disillusionment, and death in its wake. M. J. V.

A DAUGHTER OF THE NOHFU. By Etsu I. Sugimoto. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1935, pp. 340.

In a pleasing style, the author of *The Daughter of the Samurai* has portrayed the life and conditions among the better class rural people of Japan. Extensive insight is given into rural problems. The powerful role that customs play, particularly with reference to an-

cestor worship and to the role of women is shown. The ways in which Shintoism lends itself to social life are described. The division among the young people caused by the desire of some to go to the big city and of others to stay in the villages is clearly indicated. The advances of new western ways, not only into the cities but into the villages as well, is disclosed in incident after incident. Here and there even the older people are revealed as undergoing changes in attitudes regarding many domestic and local phases of life. The thread of the story is unraveled in and through the activities of a given village family.

E. S. B.

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